THE DIALECT OF GORNO KALENIK

Peter Hill

Slavica Publishers, Inc.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.

1.1. The village of Gorno Kalenik (i.e. Upper Kalenik, today *'Ano Kalliníki*) is situated in the Plain of Bitola (Monastir), some 1Ø km. north-north-east of the town of Lerin (Flórina) and some 6 km. south of the Greek-Yugoslavian border. The E2Ø, the ancient Via Egnatia, passes through Gorno Kalenik 21 km. south of Bitola and 12 km. north of Lerin. Bitola was the economic centre of the area before the partition of Macedonia in 1913.

Kalenik was first mentioned in a chrysobull of Stefan Dušan of Serbia in 1334/35 when the Serbian ruler confirmed a *metox* (monastic property) there as belonging to the Monastery of the Virgin Mary in Trěskavьcь (Treskavec, cf. Kravari 1989, 277; 342-343). In Turkish times the site of what is now the village of Gorno Kalenik was, according to the local people, part of a *čiflik* (farm). A church built in Gorno Kalenik apparently under the auspices of the Bulgarian Exarchate was demolished some 3Ø years ago and replaced by a new one.

1.2. The Lerin region represents the southern tip of the Pelagonian or Bitola Basin, which is bordered on the east and south east by the Baba and Neret Mountains (*Neretska planina*) and Vič, which is the highest (2128 m), and on the west and south west by the Nidže Mountains, the highest summit of which is Kajmakčalan (2524 m).

The present inhabitants of the Lerin region consist of the indigenous Slavs (in Greek *entópioi* or - derogatorily- *Voúlgaroi*) and Greek refugees from Russia and Asia Minor (*prósphyges*) who were resettled here after 1922. There are some refugees in Lower Kalenik but the population of Upper Kalenik consists entirely of indigenous Slavs. These Slavs are descended from East South Slavonic tribes which invaded the area in the sixth and seventh centuries. Although this appears to be incontrovertible, the children in the village are actually taught in school that they are descended from the Ancient Greeks, who at some stage lost their original language and adopted the Slavonic idiom.

Linguistically the Lerin region can be subdivided into three subdialects, a north-western (NW), an eastern (E) and a south-western (SW).

The NW subdialect consists of the villages of Negočani, Kłabučišča, Sveta Petka, Opsirina, Bituša, Dołno Kleščina,

Gorno Kleščina, Kładorabi, Kabasnica, Rakovo, Buf and Armensko. The E subdialect includes the villages of Gorno Kalenik, Asanovo selo, Sakulevo, Pəpəžani, Armenoro and Zabərdeni, apparently extending as far as Banica in the south east and Dołno Kotori and Gorno Kotori in the south.

The town of Lerin (Flórina) and the villages to the south and south west (Nevoljani, Krapešina, Neret and Łag'en) display certain characteristics that justify their being classified as the SW subdialect, transitional to the Kostur dialect.

The NW subdialect and the E subdialect are distinguished by the stress system (cf. Chapter 3 below; on stress in NW, cf. Hill 1981).

Because I do not have material from all these villages, the above classification must be considered hypothetical.

The micro-dialect of Dołno Kalenik (Lower Kalenik) within the area of the E subdialect exhibits a number of features that are characteristic of the Kostur dialect, such as the use of *si* for the 1st pers. sg. pres. of the auxiliary verb "to be", and the 3rd pers. pl. desinence *e* in verbs other than "to be" (cf. Šklifov 1973,9Ø, 1979,72; Mazon 1923,47, Oblak 1896,1Ø5). These features appear to be due to interference from the dialect of Kostur: at the turn of the century a number of families moved from Rula/Kostur to Dołno Kalenik and their relatives continued to move from Rula to Dołno Kalenik later, in order to take up land vacated by Turkish land-lords emigrating to Turkey.

References are made occasionally in the text to the differences between the subdialects.

1.3. The material on which this description is based was collected mainly in Australia, amongst emigrants that left the area shortly before or shortly after World War II. There were a number of stages in the genesis of the book.

I have extensive material from the village of Dołno Kleščina, originally collected from a local informant by a group of linguistics students in 1977 at the University of Melbourne under the direction of Elizabeth Pearce, who thus, together with the late Professor Jordan Zaimov (see below), must take the credit for supplying the initial stimulus for this book. I have supplemented the material provided by this group by interviewing other informants from the NW subdialect. I have also collected a considerable body of material from the village of Sveta Petka. Apart from a few contrastive references in the

text below to the differences between the subdialects, it is planned to publish the material on NW separately.

My material is most extensive from the village of Gorno Kalenik and I also have an active, though limited, command of this micro-dialect. My first studies of the micro-dialect of Upper Kalenik were based on conversation with my mother-in-law, who is a native of the village, over a number of years. This material was checked with my mother-in-law's aunt Lena, which revealed considerable variation. On this basis I wrote the first draft of the grammar and the lexicon.

This first draft was checked during a number of short visits to the village. Extensive studies in Aegean Macedonia are not possible, as is well known. During these short visits, doubtful forms were checked with native informants who have not been subject to external influences. This method of checking does, of course, involve including variant forms, although I excluded informants born in other villages (normally wives) or who had lived in other villages or in neighbouring countries (such as men who had fought with the partisans during the uprising of 1946-1949). It was not possible to eliminate all variation. Indeed, the work on this micro-dialect has confirmed once again that Lyons (1981 § 1.6) and others are right to speak of 'the fiction of homogeneity' (cf. following § below). Even a village dialect is spoken by hundreds of people with individual experiences. Their speech cannot be entirely uniform. Variation is also noticeable within idiolects and within short spaces of time (2-3 minutes).

1.4. I assume that each village has its own micro-dialect. Micro-dialects differ from one another in certain features but they possess common features which can be extrapolated by a linguist. In the present case, the various micro-dialects are grouped into subdialects which form the Lerin dialect. The Lerin dialect is thus the result of a process of linguistic abstraction.

This book offers a description of the micro-dialect of Gorno Kalenik as spoken in the middle of the twentieth century. A dialect represents an abstraction. This is obviously true of a concept such as the Lerin dialect, which is extrapolated from a number of micro-dialects, but even micro-dialects show considerable variation.

I consider the studies by Ben Groen and Peter Hendriks to be probably the best produced in this field and I owe a great

deal to them. Groen and Hendriks have aimed to eliminate variation by interviewing old people, especially women, on the traditional assumption of dialect geography that such people represent the "true", "unadulterated" dialect. Such a description largely disregards variation and thus represents the dialect as an abstraction, though perhaps a necessary one.

Variationists, most notably Labov, Bailey and Bickerton[1], have demonstrated that what was previously considered to be "free variation" is in fact governed by laws. Within the microdialect of Gorno Kalenik, the third-person pronoun *toj* is in apparently free variation with the much less common *on*. A full-scale sociolinguistic investigation would presumably reveal that this variation is in fact predictable within certain parameters. The combination *ər* for syllabic *r̩* appears to be characteristic of the oldest generation, while the realization as syllabic *r̩* appears to be an expanding phenomenon. Thus, one could anticipate that a detailed study of this would reveal that the younger a speaker is, the more likely he is to use syllabic *r̩* rather than *ər*, and there may also be a sex-related difference. Unfortunately, it is not at present possible to conduct a full-scale sociolinguistic investigation in Gorno Kalenik. I am aware that the cases of "free variation" indicated in the text below are questionable.

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[1] Cf. LABOV, W.: *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*. Washington: Center for Applied Linguistics 1966.; "Some principles of linguistic methodology" In: *Language in Society*, Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1972. 97-155.; *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press 1972; *Language in the Inner City: Studies in the Black English Vernacular*. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press 1972; BAILEY, C.-J.N.: *Variation in Linguistic Theory*. Washington: Center for Applied Linguistics 1973; "The State of Non-State Linguistics". *Annual Review of Anthropology* 5 (1976) 93-1Ø6; *The yin and yang nature of language*. Ann Arbor: Karoma 1982; BICKERTON, Derek: "The Nature of a Creole Continuum". *Lg* 49 (1973) 64Ø-669; *Dynamics of a Creole Continuum*. Cambridge: University Press 1975; *The Roots of Language*. Ann Arbor: Karoma 1981 Cf. also HORVATH, Barbara: "'Learning to Talk' in the New Paradigm". *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 3,2 (December 1983) 217-24Ø

A factor that was difficult to assess was the influence of the micro-dialect of Lower Kalenik. It seems likely that the ending <-t> in the 3rd pl. pres. of A-verbs (cf. §§ 4.9.Ø.2, 4.9.2.1 below) may be due to the influence from other dialects, but it is so wide-spread that it was not possible to exclude it from the description, especially as both variants may occur within the speech of one person within one utterance.

Two patterns of variation are the following:

- 3rd. pl. pres. A-conjugation /rabotaa/ ~ /rabotat/, 3rd. pl. impf. /rabotaja/ ~ /rabotaa/ and 3rd pl. aor. /izbegaja/ ~ /izbegaa/, cf. § 4.9.2 below;

- contrast /l/ ~ /ł/ (vs. absence of this contrast), cf. § 2.2.1.2 below.

The common ethnic adjective /gərck'i/ "Greek" has a variant /gərčk'i/ which the people in the village describe as "more urbane" (*gratsk'i*). Again, this appears to indicate influence from the north. Cf. also § 4.9.2.1 below on the spread of the ending /-m/ to B-verbs.

1.5. The Bulgarian scholar Vasil Kənčov published a detailed ethnographic study of Macedonia in 19ØØ. Kənčov classified the Slavonic population as Bulgarian. According to Kənčov, Bulgarians made up 37 781 out of a total of 6Ø ØØ5 inhabitants of the *qażā* of Lerin (Kănčov 19ØØ [197Ø II,549-551])[1].

According to Kənčov, the Bulgarian population of the villages mentioned above was as follows (others in parentheses):

Armenoro (Ermenoro)[2]	78Ø	
Armensko (Ermensko)	1Ø8Ø	
Asanovo Selo	54Ø	(5Ø Turks)
Banica	165Ø	
Buf (Bux)	19ØØ	

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[1] Cf. also Barker 195Ø:9 et seqq., Jelavich 1986 II:89 et seqq.

[2] The names of the villages are given in the form closest to the indigenous pronunciation and in the phonematic transcription employed in this book, with the historical form of the name in parentheses where it was felt necessary.

Kalenik, Gorno & Dołno	394	
Kładorabi	340	
Kleščina, Dołno	400	(150 Moslem Albanians)
Kleščina, Gorno	--	(350 Moslem Albanians)
Kotori, Gorno	168	(60 Christian Albanians)
Kotori, Dołno	600	(174 Christian Albanians)
Krapešina	320	
Łag'en (Łagino)	520	
Neret (Nered)	1950	
Neolani (Nevoljani)	1260	(300 Turks)
Pəpəžani (Popełženi)	1100	
Sakulevo	350	
Zabərdeni	325	

The following villages were then in the *qaźā* of Bitola (Monastir):

Bituša	580	
Kłabučišča	750	(100 Moslem Albanians)
Negočani	500	(150 Moslem Albanians)
Opsirina (Obsireno)	260	(60 Moslem Albanians)
Rakovo	850	
Sveta Petka	550	

(Kănčov II 536)

Simovski quotes sources that put the population of Kabasnica at about 500 at the turn of the century (Simovski 123).

With the decline of the Ottoman Empire at the turn of the century, and especially after the incorporation of southern Macedonia, including the Lerin District, into the Greek state in 1913, the Moslem inhabitants of the area emigrated to Turkey. Their place was taken after Greece's defeat in Asia Minor in 1921/22 by Greek refugees (*prósphyges*) from Asia Minor and the Soviet Union. According to the official Greek census of 1928, the total population of the Lerin District was 125 722 (*Plēthysmós tēs Helládos* 1935 xi).

Simovski uses the term "Macedonian" to refer to the indige-

nous[1] Slavonic population. According to this source, the population of Gorno Kalenik, which was approximately 350 at the turn of the century, and which had reached some 500 Macedonians in 1940, had, mainly due to emigration, again fallen to 303 by 1971 (Simovski 113). Other villages, such as Buf, are today virtually deserted, but they continue to exist in Canada and Australia as social organizations bearing this name.

Simovski believes that the indigenous Slavonic (Macedonian) population of Aegean Macedonia has remained constant since 1900, with natural increase just keeping pace with deaths and emigration (Simovski 28).

1.6. In the village, the dialect is the normal medium of domestic intercourse for the middle and older generations. Young people below about 30 use Greek among themselves but the dialect as well as Greek when speaking to their elders. Parents and grandparents communicate with children in Greek exclusively. The children learn the dialect by listening to their elders. Their command of the dialect usually remains latent until later, when the children will use it in conversation with their elders or with visitors who may not know Greek. This sociological phenomenon may well be unique to Aegean Macedonia. In Australia, pre-school children speak the dialect with parents and grandparents, later generally adopting English with parents and peers, while retaining the dialect for communication with old people.

It is, of course, difficult to assess the number of speakers of the dialect today, but if one weighs population growth against language loss (to Greek in the villages, or to the host language in Canada, Australia or the countries of Eastern Europe, where many of the villagers were evacuated during the uprising of 1946-49), then it may not be unreasonable to assume the same number as at the beginning of the century.

1.7. Little has been published on the dialect of Lerin (but cf. bibliography at the end of this volume). The most substantial contribution is Vidoeski 1983, an article of some 24 pages

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[1] The indigenous population of the area is referred to in Greek as *entópioi*, as distinct from the *prósphyges*, Greek refugees from Asia Minor and Russia who were settled here in the 1920s, cf. Barker 32, Simovski 11-12.

which attempts to present all details of all micro-dialects in Lerin, while unfortunately not distinguishing etic and emic levels. Vidoeski does not state the sources of his material, nor does he examine the concept of "Lerin Dialect", and given the wide scope of the article, some details may well be inaccurate. I return to Vidoeski 1983 in the course of this book.

We have more or less exhaustive descriptions of some of the dialects surrounding the area in question here: on the dialect of Kostur to the south Šklifov 1973; 1977; cf. also Ničev 1987, Koleva 1989; of Lower Prespa Šklifov 1979a-b; on the western Macedonian dialects cf. Hendriks 1976 and Courthiade 1988; on the eastern Macedonian dialects cf. Oblak 1896; Małecki 1934b; 1936; Ivanov 1977, Vidoeski 1982, Peev 1987-1988, and on the dialects of Dihovo [Dixovo], Veles and Moriovo to the immediate north cf. the monographs by Groen (1977), Reiter (1964) and Koneska (1951; cf. also Popov 1950, Cărnušanov 1979).

1.8. My description is synchronic. From a diatopic and diachronic point of view, the dialect of Lerin is part of the South Balkan Slavonic (East South Slavonic) diasystem, which is characterized by the following features:

1. loss of case morphology in the noun
2. post-positive article
3. loss of the infinitive form of verbs
4. analytic formation of the degrees of comparison of adjectives and adverbs
5. formation of the future tense of verbs with a particle (historically derived from the verb "want")
6. reduplication of definite objects (so-called "pronominal prolepsis")
7. distanced forms of the verb (renarration)

The dialect of Gorno Kalenik is distinguished by the following features:

1. ǫ > a zap "tooth" < Proto-Slavonic *zǫbъ

with a few lexical exceptions:

gəs "arse" < *gǫzъ

2. ę > e pet "five" < *pętь

3. Vocalization of the "strong *jers*" as *o* and *e* respectively:

dožžo "rain *def.*" < *dъždjь tъ
temnica "darkness" < *tьmьnica

4. šč, žž < Proto-Slavonic *tj, *dj

lešča "lentils" < *lętja
vežži "eyebrows" < *vědja

but kuk'a "house" *from Serbian (vs. Kostur* kəšča < *kǫtja)

5. k', g' < Proto-Slavonic *tьje, *dьje

brak'a "brothers" < *bratьja
lug'e "people" < *ljudьje

6. The reflex of Old Bulgarian *r* + *jer* is *ər*[1]

7. The stress falls on the penultimate syllable[2]

1.9. The traditional name for the South Balkan Slavonic (East South Slavonic) diasystem is Bulgarian (hence also the name *Old Bulgarian* for the language often known as *Old Church Slavonic* or *Old Slavonic*, which was based on the dialect of the Salonika region). Thus, the Macedonian dialects have traditionally been classified as Bulgarian (cf. e.g. Mazon 1923, 7, Weigand 1924, 67-76, Seliščev 1929, Reiter 1964, 1-21, M. Mladenov 1986).

The majority of the speakers of the Lerin dialect in Australia today see themselves as part of the Macedonian nation, a considerable proportion have Greek national consciousness, while only a small number identify as Bulgarians. In the village, young people tend to identify as Greeks and middle-aged and older people as Macedonians. "Slavo-Macedonian" and the pejorative "Bulgar" are terms used by ethnic Greeks.

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[1] But cf. § 2.1.2 below. On the term *Old Bulgarian* cf. following § and de Bray 1980, Chapter 1.

[2] But cf. Hill 1981 and Chapter 3 below.

1.1Ø. The theoretical model that I use in my description is of the Prague School type or early generative (cf. Sussex 1976; Lass 1984, Chapters 4 & 9, cf. also Birnbaum 1975). The basic unit on the phonological level is the phoneme (cf. Szende 198Ø). In my description I postulate units of 5 orders, phonetic, phonological (phonematic), morphological (morphematic), syntactic and lexical:

- units on the phonetic level are shown in brackets: [...]
- units on the phonological (phonematic) level in slants: /.../
- units on the morphological (morphematic) level in <...>

Units on the phonetic level are derived by rules from units on the phonematic level, and these in turn are derived by rules from units on the morphematic level.

On the morphematic level, the following symbols are used:

- morpheme border following a prefix: =
- morpheme border before a suffix: +
- morpheme border before ending: -
  (cf. Issatschenko 1975).[1]

The terms "ending" and "desinence" are not distinguished.

In the text and the lexicon, examples are generally quoted in phonemic transcription. Punctuation marks are included within the slants, although they do not strictly speaking correspond to any item on this level.

In phonological or morphological representations, parentheses indicate variant forms, thus /reku(f)/ stands for /reku/ or /rekuf/. In glosses, parentheses indicate variant forms. Additional information is placed in brackets [].

1.11. I owe a debt of gratitude to a number of people, not all of whom I can name here. In particular I should like to thank my wife Alexandra for her encouragement and for teaching me much about the dialect, to my mother-in-law and her aunt Lena and to the many other dialect speakers who were my infor-

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[1] This notation assumes a distinction between inflexion and derivation.

mants and to Christine and Harry Minas and their parents who helped me collect additional material on the NW subdialect. I owe a debt of gratitude to my colleague Ronald E. Emmerick, Hamburg, who introduced me to DOS and WordPerfect and designed most of the special characters used in the text (the others were designed by Uwe Gleßmer). I should like also to thank Elisabeth Pearce and her students (see § 1.3 above) and the late Professor Jordan Zaimov, who encouraged me to embark on this work and provided me with bibliographical material; Roland Sussex and Paul Cubberley, Melbourne, and a number of colleagues in Sofia, including Jordan Penčev and Todor Bojadžiev, who discussed parts of the book with me. Elmar Ternes, G.S. Henrich and Bettina Strewe, Hamburg, read one of the final drafts of the manuscript and made countless invaluable comments. Needless to say, remaining shortcomings in my description are entirely my own responsibility.

2. PHONOLOGY

2. The phonemic system consists of a vocalic and a consonantal subsystem. The two subsystems are distinguished by the feature of syllabicity, that is, vowels form the nucleus of a syllable, whereas consonants do not.

2.1. VOWEL SYSTEM

2.1.1. There are 6 vowel phonemes:

	front	central	back
close	i		u
mid	e	ə	o
open		a	

It will be noted that there is only one open vowel, /a/.

Restricting ourselves to distinctive features, we can classify the vowels as follows:

	front	central	back
high	i	ə	u
low	e	a	o

2.1.1.1. The most common allophones of /e/ and /o/ are half-open or open rather than close, i.e. [ɛ] and [ɔ], the latter being only slightly labialized. Often /o/ is neither very close nor very open (cf. texts in Chapter 7 below). Between labial consonants, however, a raised and strongly labialized allophone of /o/ occurs, e.g. /bop/ "beans, bean-soup".

A raised allophone of /a/ occurs before the approximant, as in /gaȷ̯da/ "bagpipe", phonetically ['gæi̯ða][1].

2.1.1.2. The phonemic status of the vowel phonemes can be established by such minimal pairs as the following:

/lita/	"fly *vb.*" [2]	/luta/	"hot (of food) *adj.f.sg.*"
/se/	"(they) are"	/su/	"(I) am"
/meze/	"snack"	/məze/	"milk *vb.*"
/məče/	"be quiet"	/mače/	"torment *vb.*"
/kəsa/	"bite *vb.*"	/kusa/	"short *adj.f.sg.*"
/kosa/	"hair"		

2.1.1.3. Vidoeski (1983,25) points out that the distribution of /ə/ is limited; in his description it does not occur initially or finally, being limited to positions within the word[3]. This is valid for the initial position only if one regards [ər] as an allophone of a phoneme /r̥/; however, since I do not postulate a phoneme /r̥/ (cf. following §), the phoneme /ə/ does occur in my description in initial position. Nevertheless it is clear that diachronically /ə/ is a recessive phoneme; alternatively, one can say that the loss of /ə/ is expanding south from the central Macedonian dialects. In the dialect of Gorno Kalenik, /ə/ represents Proto-Slavonic syllabic *l*; /ə/ < Proto-Slavonic /ǫ/ is found only in a few exceptional words, the reflex here being now normally /a/, as in the Central Macedonian dialects.

2.1.2. Syllabic *r* [r̥][4]

Syllabic *r* [5] occurs in such words as the following:

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[1] In this chapter stress is indicated by placing the symbol ' before the stressed syllable. On stress cf. following chapter.

[2] For abbreviations cf. *Lexicon.*

[3] I use the concept of the word, although I am aware of its theoretical problems.

[4] On the development of the so-called syllabic liquids in early Slavonic cf. Trubetzkoy 1954, 76-78; Koneski 1983, 32-34.

[5] The difference between 'syllabic *r*' and mid-high central vowel /ə/ + /r/ is, in fact, relative rather than absolute, cf. Cubberley 1988.

[kr̩s]	"cross *sb.*"	Cf. [kus] "short *adj.f.sg.*"
[mr̩sa]	"eat rich food, *i.e.* not observe a fast"	Cf. [masa] "table"
[tr̩ło]	"sheep-fold"	Cf. [telo] "wire *def.*"

Some speakers realize the syllabic *r* as mid-high central vowel + /r/, i.e. [ər]. The difference between the two realizations is audible. It was not possible to determine whether the variation is lexical, as it is, according to Šklifov (1973, 22) in the dialect of Kostur, whether it is characteristic of certain idiolects or of a particular generation, or whether it occurs within idiolects. According to Šklifov (1979, 31, cf. also map p. 231), [r̩] occurs in the eastern villages of the Lower Prespa dialect area, that is, in those villages nearest the area under discussion here. Initially, [ər] rather than [r̩] occurs, both in Lower Prespa (ibd.) and in Lerin; cf. also Seliščev 1918, 52.

According to Vidoeski (1971, 3Ø5-6), the area north of the town of Lerin lies within the [r̩]-territory. Later Vidoeski specified the southern border of the [r̩]-territory as a line from Želevo in the east through Neret, Bapčor and Negovan in the south to Zabərdeni and Papadija in the east (1983, 23), but the reality is more complicated. It seems that one realization is gradually replacing the other, and a detailed study of the factors involved in the variation would probably reveal that [r̩] is expanding at the expense of [ər]. This is in accordance with Seliščev (1918, 68): while the use of *r̩* rather than *ər* in the Ohrid and Prilep districts was a matter of dispute, Seliščev refers to studies attesting *r̩* in the Resen, Bitola, Veles and Štip districts as well as in the Salonika district and in the north and north-east. This would seem to indicate that *r̩* had at the beginning of this century not expanded in central Macedonia as far south as Lerin, but caution is in order, since at that time Lerin was often considered part of the Bitola district.

In the Salonika area, Oblak (1896, 38-39) notes both *r̩* and *ər*, while further east, in the Drama-Sjar (Seres)-area, J.N. Ivanov registers only *ər/rə* (1977, 13Ø-131). Mazon (1923, 19) cites forms /bórgo/ and /cérkva/ in Neolani (Nevoljani); this claim must be regarded with extreme suspicion.

If it is true that syllabic *r* is expanding south in the Lerin district, this would be another example of a general tendency seen also in the spread of the 1st-person-singular present

desinence /am/ to all verbs, including those that historically had *-ǫ* (today /a/).

Following Trubetzkoy (1977, 54), and also in view of the alternation of [ṛ] with [ər], I phonemicize syllabic *r* as /ər/.

2.1.3. The stressed vowel system does not differ from the unstressed system.

2.1.4. Long vowels occur phonetically as a realization of two consecutive identical vowels, thus: [sa:t sa:tɔ sa:ti] corresponding to /saat saato saati/ (cf. Vidoeski 1983, 25). Further, the f.sg. vocative ending /-o/ is often lengthened or even diphthongized (cf. § 3.1.2 below):

['tsa'no:], ['tsa'nou̯]	vocative of /cana/, woman's name
['ba'bo:], ['ba'bou̯]	"Granny!"

In narratives, the final vowel of a conceptual paragraph is often lengthened ("rhetorical lengthening"). In some cases, the final consonant is lengthened and the stress transferred from the penultimate to the last syllable (for examples cf. Chapter 7 below: *Prikazni*).

2.2. CONSONANT SYSTEM

The consonant system consists of the following phonemes:

	labial	dental	palatal	velar
		OBSTRUENTS		
STOPS				
voiced	b	d	g'	g
voiceless	p	t	k'	k
FRICATIVES				
voiced	v	z	ž	
voiceless	f	s	š	(x)
AFFRICATES				
voiced		ʒ	ǯ	
voiceless		c	č	

SONORANTS

NASALS	m	n	n'	
TRILLS			r	
LATERALS		l	l'	(ɫ)
APPROXIMANTS			j	

2.2.1.

2.2.1.1. The consonants denoted in IPA (API) as *h* and *x* occur only marginally[1].

/h/ occurs only in the exhortative interjection /haj/[2], a variant of /ajde/, and in the affirmative particle /aha/ (cf. § 6.3.5, 6.4.3 below). We can regard this as a sub-phonemic prothetic aspiration. On the same interjection in Russian cf. also Avanesov 1984,112.

Diachronically /x/ has been replaced by zero: /risjanin/ "Christian", /ristos/ "Christ"; otherwise, /x/ may be retained or replaced by /k/, e.g. /okrit/ "Ohrid" (standard form ['ɔxrit]). One of my informants was referred to as [mi'xali] by some people and as [mi'kali] by others. The phoneme /x/ also occurs in transfers from Greek.

/x/ does occur in one common word, /noxt/, a variant of /nokt/ and /noft/ "finger nail". It has been suggested that /x/ is here a positional variant of /k/, i.e.

/k/ --> [x]/__/t/

But such a rule does not affect /kt/ elsewhere - note e.g. /doktur/ (not */doxtur/), /sikter/ (not */sixter/); and while /x/ and /f/ correspond diachronically (cf. § 2.5.4 below), there is no synchronic rule

/x/ --> /f/

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[1] While *x* is a velar fricative, *h*, though classified in *Principles* (1984, 1Ø) as a glottal fricative and functioning in languages such as English as a consonant, is, in fact, phonetically a voiceless vowel (voiceless non-syllabic vocoid in Pike's terminology, cf. Abercrombie 1982, 59; 8Ø)

[2] In this case /h/ is a secondary aspiration and does not continue earlier /x/, which has been lost here.

Therefore, /noxt/, /nokt/ and /noft/ must be registered in the lexicon as variants (allolexes).

It seems clear that /x/ cannot serve to distinguish meanings in native lexemes. It would thus be an allophone, presumably of /k/. However, in Greek loans used in the dialect it can distinguish meanings and is therefore – in one variety of the dialect, at least – a phoneme.

2.2.1.2. Some speakers distinguish a back *l* /ł/ as in /łut/ "wild", /beła/ "white" (f.sg.) from the neutral or medium *l* /l/ as in /lut/ "hot, spicy; angry", /bela/ "misfortune, trouble" (the latter historically palatalized), cf. also /fełka/ "slice [e.g. watermelon]" – /zelka/ "(head of) cabbage". The distinction is neutralized before front vowels, where only /l/ occurs.

Groen denotes the medium *l* with the symbol *l'* and the back *l* with the symbol *l*. This is somewhat misleading, at least as far as the dialect of Gorno Kalenik is concerned. In the present study the symbol *l'* is used to denote the palatal *l* as in /skol'e/[1] (with j̯-glide, cf. § 2.2.3, 2.2.1Ø below). With this reservation, however, there does not appear to be any structural difference between the dialect of Dihovo and the speech of those speakers in Lerin that distinguish /ł/ from /l/.

It seems probable that some groups of old people are more likely to distinguish /ł/ from /l/.

2.2.2. /v/ is articulated as a voiced labio-dental fricative but has certain phonological (distributional) characteristics of a sonorant[2]. Cf. § 2.3.2 below.

2.2.3. There has been some debate in South Slavonic linguistics on the phonemic status of palatal and palatalized consonants. In our dialect it is possible to postulate palatalized consonantal phonemes such as /k'/ and /g'/ on the basis of

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[1] IPA (API) here uses a 'turned y' (Pullum & Ladusaw 1986, 171). Note that the use of the Serbian character ъ to denote medium *l* before back vowels in standard Macedonian orthography has caused confusion among children and young adults in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia.

[2] Historically, /v/ derives from a bilabial approximant /w/. Cf. Vidoeski in *Fonološki opisi* 1981, 627.

examples such as ['kɔri] "sheets of pastry, *pl. of* ['kɔra]", and ['k'ɔri] "blind, *adj., pl.of* [k'ɔr]", or ['gɔrtʃɛ] "it's hot" and ['g'ɔrtʃɛ], *man's name.*

The solution put forward by Hendriks 1976 is the biphonematic interpretation of what are usually considered to be palatalized consonant phonemes, i.e. /Cj/ instead of the usual /C'/.[1]

The approximant /j/ is postulated in the phoneme inventaries of all Slavonic languages (cf. Bidwell 1963). In my description of the dialect of Lerin I postulate this phoneme on the basis of such quasi-minimal pairs as /zajse/ ['zaịsɛ] "brought" and /zairje/ [za'irjɛ] "vegetables", /svoj/ [svɔị] "*possessive pronoun, m.sg.*" and /svoi/ ['svɔi] "*id., pl.*" (cf. § 2.2.8 below).

In his description of the dialect of Radožda and Vevčani (Hendriks 1976, 58-9) Hendriks phonemicizes the palatal(ized) consonants [g'], [k'], [n'] and [l'] as /gj/, /kj/, /nj/ and /l'j/; in Hendriks' description, /l'/ is the only palatalized consonant (cf. below and § 2.2.1.2 above), for the same reason as when he chooses the biphonematic interpretation of the affricates: a bundle of distinctive features is only then to be interpreted monophonematically if it cannot be represented by phonemes that are already present in the inventary (cf. following §).

Hendriks' manner of representing the palatal(ized) consonants is not entirely new: this solution has been put forward for the Bulgarian standard language by e.g. Bernštejn 195Ø, Stojkov 1952, Merlingen 1957, Van Campen/Ornstein 1959, Schuyt 1982, Bidwell 1963. As is well known, palatal(ized) consonants occur distinctively in standard Bulgarian only before non-front vowels. They do not occur distinctively before front vowels and they do not occur in word-final position or before consonants. Because of their very restricted occurrence it seems reasonable to interpret them as combinations of C + /j/ (cf. Stojkov op.cit.). Moreover, since forms such as [b'ał], [d'ał], [t'ało], where the vowel is derived from the former *jat'*, do not occur in the western dialects of Bulgarian, speakers

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[1] The former solution, i.e. /Cj/, was adopted in earlier sketches of this chapter, one published in a not entirely accurate Bulgarian translation in the journal *Ezik i literatura* (Hill 1986), the other - with some misprints - in the proceedings of the Second International Congress on Bulgarian Studies (Hill 1988a).

from this area, which includes the capital, Sofia, tend to substitute [bjał], [djał], [tjało] in such forms (Tilkov 1983, 142), which does not vitiate the phonemic system since there is no distinctive difference between [b'ał] and [bjał]. Stojkov later repudiated his interpretation of the palatalized consonants and it is not today shared by mainstream linguists in Bulgaria. Tilkov & Bojadžiev (1981, 86) give the canonical view, according to which there are the following palatal consonants in standard Bulgarian:

labials	/p', b', f', m'/
velars	/k', g', x'/
alveolars	/t', d', n', s', z', c', ʒ'/

Tilkov 1983 provided a great deal of evidence for this contention, in particular by manipulating speech. In a word such as *Janka* he subtracted the first formant and the fricative part of [j] and added e.g. the consonant [s']. The result, which thus included [s'] + the transition from [j] to [a], was always recognized as the lexeme *sjanka* /s'anka/. However, if the [j] was preserved entirely with its F1 and its fricative part after the added consonant, the result was not recognized as [s'], as in *sjanka*, but rather as [s] + [j] (as in *s Janka*). (Tilkov 1983, 112–113). Tilkov saw this as clear proof that the palatal(ized) consonants are not equivalent to C + /j/. Most palatal(ized) consonants in standard Bulgarian are recognized as such on the basis of the transition to the following vowel, the only exceptions being [k', g', l'], which can be recognized as palatals on the basis of their consonantal segment (ibd. 117, 145).

Although serious linguists and Slavists have supported the phonemic interpretation of the palatal(ized) consonants as combinations of C + /j/, it is nevertheless clearly a minority position within Slavonic linguistics. Most Slavists argue here that each palatalized consonant is produced as a single articulatory unit and should hence be viewed as a single phoneme. This is an essentially phonetic argument and the solution one adopts will depend on the basic decision about the desirable distance between the phonematic representation and the phonetic reality.

Hendriks' and Groen's position has the advantage of economizing on phonemes on the paradigmatic level, while increasing their number on the syntagmatic level. It is

debatable whether the former advantage outweighs the latter disadvantage. In addition, though, this solution leads to certain complications on the morphological level. To take an example, "house", which I now propose to phonemicize as /kuk'a/, has the plural /kuk'i/. In the Hendriks–Groen model, the singular is /kukja/ and the plural would be */kukji/. The problem with */kukji/ is that, since /k/ is automatically palatalized before /i/, the /j/ is superfluous, and so Hendriks and Groen represent the plural as /kuki/, with the alternation /kj/ ~ /k/. This alternation exists, however, only on the level of the phonematic representation (one is tempted to say "on the orthographic level"), because the phonetic reality in both forms is [k']. Again, one must ask whether the logical elegance on the phonematic level outweighs the consequent clumsiness on the morphological level.

Hendriks' point of view requires him to phonemicize [kútja] "box" as /kutia/, as opposed to /kútja/ [kut'a] "house". However, this does not prove possible in the case of [l'ja], for which no satisfactory phonemicization can be found other than /l'ja/.

Hendriks thus has one palatal consonant in his phoneme inventary, /l'/, which is necessary to represent forms such as /l'ja/ "plot (of ground)" and /pol'jak/ "field guard" (Hendriks 1976, 53–54). Similarly in Groen 1977 the phonemic inventary includes just one palatalized consonant, /l'/, on the basis of such contrasts as /íl'jada/ "thousand", /íl'ač/ "medicine" and /píla/ "saw" (Groen 1977, 15) or /élka/ "fir" and /zél'ka/ "cabbage" (Groen 1977, 15; 295). Cf. § 2.2.1.2 above.

Boris Simeonov occupies an intermediate position between Hendriks and the majority of Slavists. Simeonov distinguishes between monofocal and bifocal palatal consonants, classifying the former – [k'], [g'] and [j] – as autonomous phonemes, the bifocal palatal consonants (or *palatalized* consonants) are seen as combinations of C + /j/. One should note also that Simeonov classifies /m, n, l, r, n', l'/ as *sonants* (or sonorants), which he does not include in the inventary of consonants. Thus, according to Simeonov the inventary of consonant phonemes in the Bulgarian standard language is as follows:

labial series	/b, p, v, f/
dental series	/d, t/
postdental series	/ʒ, c, z, s/

prepalatal series	/ǯ, č, ž, š/
palatal series	/g', k', j/
velar series	/g, k, x/

The sonants are /m, n, l, r, n', l'/.

The basis of Simeonov's classification is thus phonetic. However, there is evidence that the palatals /g', k', l', n'/ do indeed form a special class of phonemes in the dialect of Lerin (and /g', k', n'/ in the dialect of Dihovo/Bitola, cf. Groen 1977, 16) since only they cause prepalatalization, as in [ku¹k'a] /kuk'a/ "house", [bra¹k'a] /brak'a/ "brothers", [skɔ¹l'e] /skol'e/ "school", [pana¹g'ir] /panagir/ "village fair, patrocinium". In the Macedonian Standard Language (MSL) /g'/, /k'/ are palatal stops (palatal affricates according to Usikova), distinct from /k/ and /g/ respectively in all positions; /l/ and /ł/ are classified as two phonemes, while palatalized *l*, i.e. [l'] is considered to be a combination of /l/ + /j/; /ń/ is classified as a palatal nasal (Lunt 1952, 11–12; Usikova 1985, 22–24). Koneski (1967, 1Ø2) classifies /ń/, /j/, k'/ and /g'/ as palatal phonemes (so also Kepeski 1983, 65). However, neither Lunt nor Usikova distinguishes palatals as a special class. Šklifov postulates 5 "soft" consonants in the dialect of Lower Prespa: /k', g', l', n', j/ (Šklifov 1979, 32). These are in fact the postpalatal stops *k'*, *g'* (cf. Vidoeski 1983, 24), the palatal nasal *n'*, the palatal lateral *l'* and the palatal approximant *j*. They can conveniently be classified as *palatals*.

Note that a morphematic succession of <n> or <l> + <j> produces /n' l'/,
e.g. <eglen–je>, <godin–je> --> /eglen'e godin'e/ Cf. § 4.3.3.2.2 and § 4.8 below.

2.2.4. A problem that has provoked even more debate is the phonemic status of the affricates. Following Ebeling, Hendriks (1976, 59–6Ø) and Groen (1977, § 2.4) interpret the affricates biphonematically.

In standard works on Bulgarian phonology, examples such as the following are adduced which, it is claimed, prove that the affricates are indeed single phonemes:

ǯift "asphalt" *ǯu'ǯe* "dwarf"

in which no off–glide and renewed on–glide is possible between the plosive and the fricative phase of the articulation (cf. Luschützky 21–24), as opposed to

nadzi'ravam "supervise" *nadži'veja* "survive"
in which *dz, dž* are pronounced with two articulatory movements, which can be separated in speech (Tilkov & Bojadžiev 1981, 131). Vachek (1968, 71) uses the same, essentially psychological argument to distinguish [pot\ʃi:t] "sew on, sew under", from [potʃi:t] "begin", [klat\sku] "County of Kladsko (locative)"[1] from [klatsku], gen. sg. of *klacek* "stick". Trubetzkoy has examples such as Polish *podszywać* "sew on/underneath" (Trubetzkoy 1977 [1939], 55) as opposed to *poczytać* "read a little".

Hendriks is aware of such examples but rejects them as minimal pairs since in each case the forms differ due to the presence or absence of a morpheme boundary, which he represents as /-/, e.g. /t-s/, /d-z/.

The result of the Ebeling-Hendriks solution is to reduce the number of phonemes at the paradigmatic level while increasing the number of them at the syntagmatic level. The Ebeling-Hendriks solution means also that certain consonantal clusters are possible in word-final position that would otherwise be excluded (cf. Hendriks 1976, 67). This is one reason why Kristophson retains the traditional monophonematic interpretation in Russian (Kristophson 1984, 22). Similarly, Vachek (1968, 72) points out that the biphonematic interpretation of the affricates would necessitate rewriting the rules about possible consonant clusters in Czech.

Minimal pairs such as Bg. *podšívam* /pot-ʃivam/ "sew on" and *počívam* /potʃivam/ "rest" differ only inasmuch as in the former case /t/ and /ʃ/ are articulated as two units, which is due to the morpheme border and is indicated in the transcription by /-/. This may invalidate Ebeling's claim that morphological arguments are inadmissible in phonology, unless we consider /-/ an example of *juncture*, i.e. a phoneme (cf. Ternes 1987, 18Ø-188). Be that as it may, it appears simpler over all to describe the affricates monophonematically.

Phonemics is not an end in itself but an ancillary science. Hendriks quotes Martinet as saying:

> "avant de se mettre à transcrire, il faut savoir pourquoi l'on se sert d'une transcription phonétique et pour qui l'on transcrit" (Hendriks 1976, 32).

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[1] I am indebted to Tilman Berger for his help with this example.

The same applies to a phonemic transcription: it is good if it fulfils its purpose, which is to simplify the morphological description of the language.

There is a statistical argument against the monophonematic interpretation of the affricates in Bulgarian: /ʒ/ and /ǯ/ are extremely rare. However, as Luschützky (1985, 66) points out:

> "Das statistische Verhalten von Phonemen dürfte jedoch, wenn überhaupt, die phonologische Kompetenz eines Sprechers viel weniger beeinflussen als strukturelle Tatsachen".

Finally it is worth noting that, as far as we know, none of the radical reformers of the Slavonic alphabets, whether Cyril and Methodius, Clement of Ohrid, Hus, Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, Ljudevit Gaj or Blaže Koneski, has ever considered "simplifying" the orthography by abolishing the monographematic representation of the affricates, nor was such a solution considered for Russian after 1918 or Bulgarian after 1944 (Cf. also Hill 1987).

2.2.5. The phoneme /d/ has an interdental fricative allophone [δ] which is realized

(a) between two vowels: [i'l'aδa] "thousand"
['graδɔ] "the town"

(b) between /r/ or approximant and a vowel
(c) between a vowel and /v/

e.g.

[pɛr'δina] "curtains"
['smərδɛ] "it smells"
['gæi̯δa] "bagpipe"
[pɔ'gɔδva] "prepare"

(a) is clearly due to the influence of modern Greek, and has been extended to include (b) and (c), yet the rule cannot be

considered as a case of interference, since it is well established in all speakers from Aegean Macedonia[1].

Nevertheless, the extent of the application of the rule varies from speaker to speaker and is possibly characteristic of allegro speech rather than lento speech. Generally a /d/ in word-initial position will not be realized as a fricative, though this can occur in allegro speech when the preceding word ends in a vowel (e.g. [tri 'δɛna]).

Further, the rule is sometimes inoperative before a morpheme boundary, as in [pɔ'dɛlɛ] "share *vb.*", and there are certain lexical exceptions, e.g. [bu'dała] "fool" (besides [bu'δała]) < Tk. *budala* via Gk., where it is pronounced with a stop and spelt with <nt>.

In the verbs /ode/ "go", /dade/ "give", /jade/ "eat", /izvade/ "take out" and /kłade/ "put", /d/ is realized as zero in allegro speech when preceded by /a/ and followed by /a/, /e/, /i/ or /u/, or when preceded by /o/ and followed by /e/ or /i/. In lento speech, /d/ is realized as [δ] in these contexts.

Examples:

[k'ɛ kła:]	for /k'e kłada/
[k'ɛ 'kłaiš]	for /k'e kładiš/
[k'ɛ 'kłaɛ]	for /k'e kłade/
['kłau]	for /kładu/
['ɔiš]	for /odiš/
[ja:]	for /jada/

but /oda/ can be realized only as ['ɔδa].

Without this rule the allegro forms of these verbs would be completely irregular; cf. §4.9.Ø.2, §4.9.2.2 and §4.9.5 below. Note also the allegro forms [k'ɛ 'dɔa], [k'ɛ 'dɔat] for /k'e dojda/, /k'e dojdat/.

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[1] The rule has apparently become established since the 16th century; it is not evident in the *Lexique macédonien du XVI^e siècle* (Giannelli & Vaillant 1958), where /d/ is regularly transcribed in Greek characters as < nt >, e.g. No. 268: <nentéla>, not *<nedéla>, similarly <strénta> No. 273, not *<stréda>, <néntela> No. 277, not *<nédela>.

Note also that intervocalic /d/ may be realized as [ð] or as ø in common words.

Examples:

/eden/ --> ['ɛðɛn], [ɛ:n] or [ɛn][1]
/pedese/ --> ['pɛðɛse] or ['pɛɛsɛ]
/greda/, /gredeme/, /gredat/
--> ['grɛða] or ['grɛa], ['grɛðɛmɛ] or ['grɛɛmɛ], ['grɛðat] or ['grɛat]

2.2.6. Except in word-initial position, /g/ may be realized as fricative [ɣ], e.g.

/togaj/ "then" ['tɔgaɟ] or ['tɔɣaɟ]
/jagne/ "lamb" ['jagnɛ] or ['jaɣnɛ]
/ugułˊ/ "only" ['ugułˊ] or ['uɣułˊ]

The fricative may be realized so weakly that it approaches ø; especially the last of the three examples is generally articulated as [u:łˊ] < ['uułˊ].

This rule is less stable than that described under § 2.2.5 above and might be classified as an example of phonetic interference.

2.2.7. There are many words with an allegro form in which an intervocalic consonant is deleted, e.g.

/sega/	>	/sea/	"now"
/deka/	>	/dea/	"where"
/tuka/	>	/tua/	"here"
/imame/	>	/iɟame/	"we have"(cf. also § 2.4.11 below)

2.2.8. It can be argued that [j], [ɟ] and [i] are allophones of one phoneme /j/ or /i/. Hendriks (1976, 55-59) and Groen (1977, 18-22), while admitting the difficulty of establishing /j/ and /i/ as independent phonemes, nevertheless argue for this solution, and I shall follow them in this. I feel it is justified to establish /j/ as a consonantal phoneme, as distinct from the vowel phoneme /i/ (cf. § 2.2.3 above).

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[1] A certain influence from Gk. *énas* is possible here.

The allophone [j] occurs in word-initial position and between vowels:

['jaʏnɛ]	"lamb"
[na'jazmɔ]	"garden mint"

The allophone [i̯] occurs between a vowel and a consonant and in word-final position after a vowel. In this latter case it is in opposition to [i], which is an allophone of /i/ (cf. Brozović in *Fonološki opisi* 1981, 21):

[kɔi̯n]	/kojn/	"horse"
['zai̯sɛ]	/zajse/	"take (someone somewhere)"
[mɔi̯]	/moj/	"my *pron. m.sg.*"

vs.

['ɔiš]	/odiš/	"you go"
['praiš]	/praiš/	"you do"
['mɔi]	/moi/	"my *pron. pl.*"

This interpretation is supported by evidence of stress (cf. Chapter 3 below). Thus, the plural of /kojn/ is ['kɔi̯nɛ], i.e. /kojne/, which accords with the stress rules (stress on the penultimate syllable). Had I chosen to represent the word as /koin/, the regular plural would have been *[kɔ'inɛ]. Similarly, if the plural morpheme in [stri'kɔi], [dož'ǯoi] is interpreted as /oi/, then the stress in such forms is regular (i.e., on the penultima). Finally it should be noted that ['zai̯sɛ] /zajse/ is in opposition to [za'irjɛ] /zairje/ "vegetables".

2.2.9. Hendriks and Groen do not write /j/ in the phonematic representation of such words as /aramija/, since /j/ occurs automatically between /i/ and a following /a/ or /e/ (cf. § 2.4.11 below, and Groen § 4.3.1). This solution leads to an economy of phonemes on the syntagmatic level. However, on the principle "Once a phoneme, always a phoneme" we consider that these are occurrences of the phoneme /j/ and that phonemes should be indicated in the transcription even if they have to occur in that position for phonotactic reasons.

It is important in these instances to distinguish the phonemic and the morphological level, as certain facts of derivation indicate that /j/ is not here part of the stem, e.g. /komšija/

nm. "neighbour" – /komšika/ f. (cf. § 5.6.1 below), /dobije/ vpf. "get" – /dobiva/ ipf. It should thus be borne in mind that the first and third person sg. pres. of <bie> "beat" are /bija bije/.

2.2.1Ø. Prepalatalization, i.e. a subphonemic glide, occurs between /e/, /a/, /o/ or /u/ and following /g'/, /k'/, /n'/ or /l'/. This is not indicated in the phonemic representation; thus:

/panag'ir/	[pa'naⁱg'ir]	"village fair, patrocinium"
/kuk'a/	['kuⁱk'a]	"house"
/brak'a/	['braⁱk'a]	"brothers"
/iman'e/	[i'maⁱn'ɛ]	"farm animals"
/skol'e/	['skɔⁱl'ɛ]	"school"

This rule affects the many *nomina actionis* in /n'e/, thus:

/peren'e/	[pɛ'rɛⁱn'ɛ]	"washing"
/bacvan'e/	[bac'vaⁱn'ɛ]	"kissing"

Note that although /n'/ is in free variation with /n/ in the *nomina actionis* (cf. § 2.3.5 below), the glide is always present, thus:

/peren'e/	[pɛ'rɛⁱn'ɛ] or [pɛ'rɛⁱnɛ]
/bacvan'e/	[bac'vaⁱn'ɛ] or [bac'vaⁱnɛ]

Similarly

/siren'e/	"cheese"	[si'rɛⁱn'ɛ] or [si'rɛⁱnɛ]
/iman'e/	"farm animals"	[i'maⁱn'ɛ] or [i'maⁱnɛ]
/kon'e/	"horses"	['kɔⁱn'ɛ] or ['kɔⁱnɛ]

2.2.11. The phoneme /n/ has an allophone [ŋ] which occurs before a velar consonant (/k/ or /g/):

['tʃɛŋka]	/čenka/	"maize, sweetcorn"
[g'ɛr'maŋka]	/germanka/	"German woman"

2.3. NEUTRALIZATIONS

2.3.1. The opposition between phonemically voiced and phonemically voiceless consonants is neutralized in final

position. Thus, morphematic[1] forms such as <bob> "beans" <bobo> "the beans" <maž> "husband" <mažu> "husband!" are realized as

/bop/ - /bobo/
/maš/ - /mažu/

2.3.2. Clusters formed by consonants which are phonemically voiced or voiceless are homogeneous, i.e. the cluster is either voiced or voiceless, except before /v/, where the opposition is maintained. Thus the definite form /əršta/ "the rye" from <ərž> "rye" shows unvoiced /š/ before /t/, while the adjective /əržen/ has /ž/ as in the morphematic representation; but cf. /bečvi/ "wide pants", /pričesva/ "take communion".

2.3.3. The opposition between the dental fricatives /s z/ and the palatal fricatives /š ž/ is neutralized before /č ǯ/ respectively.

/kvašče/ <kvas+č-e> dim "leaven, sour dough, yeast"
/orišče/ <oriz+č-e> dim "rice" Cf. also preceding §

2.3.4. The opposition between /k/ and /k'/, /g/ and /g'/ is neutralized before front vowels. Here we write /k'/ and /g'/, thus /šek'er/.

In feminine nouns with a stem in /k/ or /g/, the plural has /k'/ or /g'/ respectively, thus

/maka/	"trouble"	/mak'i/ (pl.)
/laga/	"lie, deceit"	/lag'i/ (pl.)

2.3.5. /n'/ is in free variation with /n/ in the suffix of the *nomina actionis* and in the neuter plural desinence /in'a/ (cf. § 4.3.3.3. below):

/poručvan'e/	"breakfast"	[pɔrutʃ'vaɨn'ɛ] or [pɔrutʃ'vaɨnɛ]
/imin'a/	"names"	[i'min'a] or [i'mina]

The same applies to

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[1] Strictly speaking, these are morphonological forms.

/siren'e/ "cheese" [si'rɛi̯n'ɛ] or [si'rɛi̯nɛ]

2.3.6. The distinction between /l/ and /ł/ – in the speech of those speakers that have this distinction (cf. § 2.2.1.2 above)– is neutralized before front vowels, where only /l/ occurs. Thus

/siła/ "strength" (sg.) – /sili/ (pl.)
/beł/, /beła/, /beło/ "white" (sg.), but /beli/ (pl.)
/silen/ "strong" (m.sg.), /siłna/ (f.sg.)

2.4. AUTOMATIC (PHONOTACTIC) CONSONANTAL ALTERNATIONS

2.4.1. The cluster /st/ is not possible in word-final position, /t/ being deleted. Therefore, the morphematic forms <čist> <čista> are realized as /čis/, /čista/.

2.4.2. Similarly, /š/ occurs in place of morphematic <šč> or <žž> in pre-pausal position: /doš/ <dožž> "rain", *pl.* /dožžoi/.

2.4.3. /t/ or /d/ are deleted after /s/ or /z/ when followed by /k t v n l/ or /j/[1]. Cf also standard Bulgarian /pleška/ <pleštka>, /ovoška/ <ovoštka>[2].

Examples:

/pričeste/ "take communion" *pf.*
Cf. /pričesva/ *ipf.* <pričestva>
/pričeska/ *sb.* <pričestka>
/bolestini/ "sickness" *pl.*
Cf. /bolesta/ *sg.def.* <bolestta>

2.4.4. Nasals (/m n/) are dropped after nasals before consonants:

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[1] I am indebted to Groen (1977 § 6.2) for the formulation of this and many of the following rules.

[2] My thanks to Jordan Penčev for drawing my attention to these examples.

/kamče/ dim. from <kamen> "stone", with loss of /e/ ("fleeting /e/" - cf. § 2.5.9 below) and /n/.

2.4.5. A sequence of 3 stops does not occur. The second one is dropped:

/g'upka/ "gipsy", *f.* formed by adding the suffix <k> to the stem <g'upt-> Cf. /g'uptin/ "gipsy" *m.*

2.4.6. In a succession of two dental or palatal fricatives, the second is lost. This rule is applied after those in § 2.3 above. Thus, the adjective <maž+sk-i> "masculine, manly" is realized as /mašk'i/. Similarly, /isuče/ "roll out", morphematically <iz=suče>.

2.4.7. The only geminate consonants are /tt/ and /jj/, which occur across morpheme boundaries, as in /stutta/ "the cold" (definite form of /stut/), /petti/ "fifth", /najjako/ "strongest".

2.4.8. In a succession of two affricates, the first is dropped:

<głufec>: <głufc+č-e> --> /głufče/ "mouse (dim.)"
<pernic-a>: <pernic+č-e> --> /perniče/ "cushion (dim.)"

These examples could, however, also be interpreted as <głufc+*-e>, <pernic+*-e> (cf. § 2.5.2, 5.1.1-2 below)

2.4.9. /j/ is deleted between a back vowel and a following /i/:

<boj-a boj-i> /boja boi/ "colour" - "colours"

2.4.1Ø. /j/ is deleted following /C'/

2.4.11. /j/ occurs automatically between /i/ and a following vowel (other than /i/), thus:

/mija/ <mi-a> "I wash" - /mije/ <mi-e> "he washes"
/aramija/ <arami-a> "robber" - /aramii/ <arami-i> *pl*

2.5. MORPHONOLOGICAL ALTERNATIONS

Morphonological alternations are synchronically valid in that they link surface forms that are morphonologically or derivationally connected on a regular though not necessarily productive basis. They were at an earlier historical stage automatic. Today they can be explained phonetically but are not phonetically predictable, that is, they are limited by certain morphological and/or lexical conditions.

2.5.1. Underlying <k> is realized as /č/ in the present-tense stem of certain verbs:

/reče/ "say *pf.*" Cf. /reku(f)/ "I said *aor.*"
/plače/"weep" Cf. /se rasplaka/ "he burst into tears *aor.*"

Under similar conditions, underlying <g> is realized as /ž/:

/laže/ "lie" Cf. /izlaga/ *aor.*

This alternation <k>~/č/, <g>~/ž/ is known in diachronic Slavonic linguistics as the "first palatalization of the velars" (Scatton 1984, 9Ø "velar-alveopalatal alternation") and occurs also in derivation:

/oko/ nn /oče/ dim "eye"
/kołak/ nm "special bread" /kołače/ (dim.) "bun"

In certain nouns, <g> alternates with <ǯ> (Groen 1977,166 <G_2>, cf. also § 2.5.5 below):

/kniga/ nf.c & nc "paper; letter" /kniǯe/ "piece of paper"

Groen (1977, 166) refers to the alternation of <G_3> with /ž/, but in our dialect the stem <paek> has derivations /paežina/ (apparently with <G_3>) and /paeǯe/ (apparently with <G_2> in Groen's morphonological description).

2.5.2. Underlying <c> may undergo a similar change (Scatton 1984, 93 "dental-alveopalatal alternation"):

/ofca/ nf "sheep" - /ofčar/ nm "shepherd"
/ofčk'i/ adj "sheep's"

2.5.3. /f/ and/or zero alternate with /š/ in certain derived forms, e.g

/stra/ "fear" /strašen/ "terrifying"
/mef/ "stomach" /meše/ "tummy *dim.*"
/pəpəfci/ pl /pəpəšec/ nm /pəpəška/ nf
"person from Pəpəžani" Cf. § 5.4.1 below

2.5.4. In some lexemes, /f/ alternates with zero:

/vłaf/	"Vlach (*m.*)"	/vłao/ *def.*	/vłainka/ *f.*
	Cf. also § 2.5.5 below		
/mef/	"stomach"	/meo/ *def.*	
/oref/	"nut"	/orei/ *pl.*	
/suf/	"dry"	/sua/ *f.*	
/trofče/	*dim.* <--	/troa/ "a little" *adv.*	

The morphematic representation in the latter example would be <trof+če>, or - if we postulate an underlying morphoneme <x> - <trox+če>. It would be possible in all these examples to postulate an underlying morphoneme <x> - <strax troxa orex mex vlax sux> - and this would be diachronically correct, but there is no evidence synchronically for such an assumption (cf. Elson 1975).

In the following examples, where /f/ alternates with zero, the *diachronically* underlying morphoneme is <v>:

/nof/	"new *m.sg.*"	/noa/ *f.sg.*	/noi/ *pl.*
/ubaf/	"beautiful"	/ubaa/	/ubai/
/gotof/	"ready"	/'gotoa/	/'gotoi/
/głafče/	"little head",	dim. of <gła-a>[1]	

---

[1] Diachronically <glav-a>, <glav+č-e>, but there is no synchronic evidence for <v>; at the most, one could postulate <głaf-a> with <f> ~ <Ø>.

2.5.5. <k> is realized as /c/ and <g> as /ʒ/ in the plural of masculine nouns and of the anomalous feminine nouns /noga/ and /raka/. This alternation is traditionally known as the "second palatalization of the velars", in Scatton 1984, 94 as "velar-dental alternation":

/zaek/	"rabbit, hare"	/zaeci/ *pl.*
/momok/	"farm-hand"	/momci/ *pl.*
/raka/	"hand; arm"	/raci/ *pl.*
/noga/	"foot; leg"	/noʒi/ *pl.*

In some lexemes, <k> is realized in the plural as /ʒ/ and in some derivations as /ǯ/, i.e. like underlying <g>, cf. § 2.5.1 above:

<paek> "spider" pl. /paeʒi/ dim. /paeǯe/

The noun /vłaf/ has /s/ in the plural: /vłasi/. In this example, an underlying morphoneme <x> could be postulated (cf. preceding §).

2.5.6. <v> is realized as ø in some aspectual derivations, e.g.

/ozdrae/	"get well *pf.*"	/ozdrava/ *ipf.*
/ostae/	"let, leave *pf.*"	/ostava/ *ipf.*

2.5.7. <s> and <z> are realized as /š/ and /ž/ in the present-tense stem of certain verbs (cf. § 2.5.1 above):

/napiše/	"write *pf.*"	/napisa/ *aor.*
/kaže/	"say *pf.*"	/kaza/ *aor.*

2.5.8. In one stem, <brat> "brother", /t/ alternates with /k'/:

/brat/ *sg.* /brak'a/ *pl.*

2.5.9. <o> and <e> are realized as ø in the flexion of some nouns and adjectives ("fleeting vowels"):

/momok/	"farm-hand"	/momci/ *pl.*
/glufec/	"mouse"	/glufci/ *pl.*
/dobor/	"good *m.sg.*"	/dobra dobro dobri/
/aren/	"well *m.sg.*"	/arna arno arni/

3. STRESS[1]

3. Stress or accent is a complex function of pitch (fundamental frequency), intensity (loudness) and quantity (duration). Quality is not significantly related to stress (cf. § 2.1.3 above).

In traditional terminology, the stress in the dialect of Gorno Kalenik is free, that is, it can fall on any syllable of a stress unit. A stress unit is defined by the presence of one stressed syllable. In this book I use the symbol _ when representing a stress unit that consists of more than one word (in traditional terminology), thus: /réčete_mu_o/ "Tell him (it)!" (cf. § 3.1.4.2 below).

There is a general tendency for the penultimate syllable to be stressed. The dialect of Gorno Kalenik has been compared in this respect with Polish (Conev 1919, 47; Małecki 1934a, 274 et seqq.) but it is in fact mid-way between standard Polish or standard Macedonian on the one hand (fixed stress) and standard Bulgarian on the other (free and mobile stress).

3.1. INFLEXION

3.1.1. Noun Phrase

The article does not affect the place of the stress:

/páek/	"spider"	/páeko/	"the spider"
/paéʒi/	"spiders"	/paéʒite/	"the spiders"
/młáda žéna/	"young woman"	/młádata žéna/	"the young woman"

However, if a proparoxytone word receives the article, the stress does move one syllable. Apparently nouns and noun phrases cannot have the stress further towards the beginning than the third-last syllable (but cf. § 3.2.3, § 3.5 below):

/sábota/	"Saturday"	/u sabótata/	"on Saturday"
/čétiri/	"four"	/četírite/	"the four"

/u četvértoko dojde/ or /čétvərtok dojde/
"He came on Thursday"

---

[1] Cf. Hendriks 1976, 73 et seqq. and Groen 1977, 169 et seqq.

3.1.2. Nouns

In the vocative case of feminine nouns both the stem syllable and the desinence may be stressed in the same utterance (cf. also § 2.1.4 above):

/cánó/ or /cáno/ "Cana!"
/tétá/ or /téta/ "Aunt!"

3.1.3. Adjectives and Adverbs

The forms of the comparative and superlative degrees are stressed on the first syllable:

/gólem/ - /pógolem/ - /nájgolem/ "large - larger - largest"
/bérgu/ - /póbergu/ - /nájbergu/ "fast - faster - fastest"

Note a similar phenomenon in /prémnogu/ "too much".

3.1.4. Verbs

3.1.4.1. In the first and second person plural of the present tense the stress remains on the same syllable as in the singular, thus:

/véla véleme vélete/ "I say - we say - you (pl.) say"
/ímam ímame ímate/ "I have - we have - you (pl.) have"

Here the stress serves to distinguish the first and second person plural of the present tense from the first and second person plural of the imperfect and aorist tenses:

/veléme - veléte/*impf.* "we used to say - you used to say"
/ímáme ímáte/ *impf.* "we had - you had"

Cf. Małecki 1934a, 281; Šklifov 1973, 54

3.1.4.2. Imperatives are always stressed on the first syllable:

/sédete/ "Sit down!"
/ódete/ "Go!"
/réčete_mu_o/ "Tell him (it)!"

Cf. Małecki 1934a, 28Ø; Šklifov 1973, 54; Cf. also Alexander 1978, 31[1]

The negative particle /ne/ forms a stress-unit with an imperative:

/né_berete gájle/ "Don't worry!"
/né_seči lep/ "Don't cut any bread!"
/né_mu_davajte pári/ "Don't give him any money!"

3.2. SYNTAX

3.2.1. Clitics can never be stressed. The clitics[2] are as follows:

- the short forms of the personal pronouns. These are:

accusative	/me te (g)o ja (a) ne ve i/
dative	/mi ti mu ni vi mu/

- the short forms of the reflexive pronoun /se si/

- the present tense forms of the verb "to be":

/sum si je sne sve se/

- monosyllabic conjunctions, e.g. /da a i/

- the future particle /k'e/

3.2.2. In conjunction with a personal pronoun, a preposition forms a stress unit and is always stressed:

/káj_nas káj_naska/ "at our place, in our village"
/só_mene/ "with me"
/ód_neo/ "from him, from it"

---

[1] However, the geographical terminology used by Alexander in reference to Macedonia is inaccurate (Bitola and Lerin are in central Macedonia, Kostur in southern Macedonia).

[2] Cf. Groen 1977, 174-176

3.2.3. The preposition /na/ forms stress units with many nouns. In these stress units, the preposition is always stressed:

/ná_skol'e/ "to school"
/ná_rabota/ "to work"
/ná_pitulici/ "taking pancakes (to a woman who has just given birth)"

all used with a verb of motion;

/ná_ručok/ "to lunch"
/ná_rak'ija/ "to a drink of spirits"

used with verbs of motion or invitation;

/ná_prolet/ "in spring"

3.2.4. In other cases, prepositions are normally unstressed (proclitic).

3.2.5. The negative particle /ne/ can form stress-units with verbs:

/né_znam/ *or* /ne_znám/ "I don't know"
/né_možiš/ *or* /ne_móžiš/ "You can't"
/né_mu_o_reku/ *or* /ne_mu_o_réku/ "I didn't tell him (it)"
/né_reče níščo/ *or* /ne_réče níščo/ "He didn't say anything"

If the verb-form consists of more than two syllables, it will always be stressed:

/ne_znáeme/ "We don't know"
/ne_móžete/ "You can't"
/ne_rekóa níščo/ "They didn't say anything"

In other cases, both /ne/ and the verb may be stressed:

/ne_sáka/ *or* /né sáka/ "He doesn't want to"
/ne_sákat/ *or* /né sákat/ "They don't want to"
/ne_dójde/ *or* /né dójde/ "He didn't come"

Since all forms of the present tense of the verb "to be" /su/ etc. are clitics (cf. § 3.2.1 above), the negative particle /ne/ forms stress-units with them and is always stressed:

/né_su budáła/ "I'm not a fool"

3.2.6. The interrogative pronoun /šo/ "what" and other interrogatives such as the adverb /dea/ "where" may form stress-units with a verb. Here the interrogative word is stressed:

/šó_da_praa/	"What am I supposed to do?"
/šó_ti_reče/	"What did he tell you?"
/šó_k'e_rečat/	"What will they say?"
/šó_znam jáska/	"How am I supposed to know?"
/dé(a)_o_najde/	"Where did you find it?"

Such stress-units are not possible if the verb-form consists of more than two syllables. Contrast:

/šó da práeme/	"What are we supposed to do?"
/šó k'e réčete/	"What are you going to say?"
/šó ti rekóa/	"What did they tell you?"
/dé(a) o najdóte/	"Where did you (pl.) find it?"

It is perhaps important to point out that the examples given above are not marked for style or emphasis.

3.3. LEXICON

Lexemes may be marked for stress. The following are examples:

3.3.1. /sábota/ "Saturday", /nédela/ "Sunday" (cf. /nedéla/ "week"), /vódici/ "Epiphany", /véligden/ "Easter", /témnica/ "darkness", /płádnina/ "midday"

3.3.2. the numerals /dváese tríese četiríese pédese šéese sedúmdese osúmdese devédese/ (Cf. Małecki 1934a, 28Ø; Šklifov 1973, 53).

3.3.3. possessive adjectives in <in> or <ov>, e.g. /bíškino meso/ "pork" (Cf. Małecki 1934a, 28Ø; Šklifov 1973, 53).

3.3.4. a number of adverbs, including /ołómłani/ "the year before last", /sékade/ "everywhere", /ónak'i/ "yonder" (Cf. Małecki 1934a, 282; Šklifov 1973, 55)

3.3.5. many, though not all, lexemes borrowed from Turkish, e.g. /tamám/ "just right", /demék/ "that is, I mean"

3.3.6. the greeting /šó_praete/ (cf. § 3.2.6 above).

3.3.7. Apparently all polysyllabic names of villages are stressed on the antepenultimate syllable: /kálenik kléščina kłabúčišča kładórabi kabásnica opsírina zabérdeni arménoro pepéžani/ etc. The only counter-example noted is /arménsko/[1], which is, in any case, morphologically different (originally a substantivized adjective). Cf. Małecki 1934a, 280; Šklifov 1973, 55

3.3.8. The pronouns /sekoj nekoj nikoj/ are stressed on the first syllable in all forms, thus:

/sékoj sékoa sékoe sékoi/

3.3.9. The adjective /gotof/ has the f.sg. form /gótoa/, the n.sg. form /gótoo/ and the pl. form /gótoi/. Cf. /ubaf/ has /ubáa ubáo ubái/.

3.4. PHONOLOGY

The second of a sequence of two identical vowels cannot be stressed, thus:

/máała/ [má:ła], not */maáła/

3.5. DERIVATION

The suffix <ic>, which is added to a married man's given name to form the colloquial given name for his wife, does not

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[1] in the dialect of Gorno Kalenik. In Armensko itself the name of the village is pronounced with a double stress, as in the NW subdialect (cf. § 1.2 above).

affect the place of the stress when derived from a man's name ending in a vowel (generally diminutives), thus:

/rísto/	"Risto"	/rístoica/	"Risto's wife"
/pándo/	"Pando"	/pándoica/	"Pando's wife"
/kóle/	"Kole"	/kól(e)ica/	"Kole's wife"

However, if the man's name ends in a consonant, the pro-paroxytone rule applies (cf. § 3.1.1 above), thus:

/pándil/	"Pandil"	/pandílica/	"Pandil's wife"
/sótir/	"Sotir"	/sotírica/	"Sotir's wife"
/tánas/	"Tanas"	/tanásica/	"Tanas' wife"

Cf. § 5.6.3 below

3.6. Note that the stress system does not differ, except in a few details (§ 3.1.4.2, 3.2.3 above, cf. Šklifov 1973 § 2.141, 2.143), from that of the Kostur dialect, as Šklifov himself remarks (2.115).

3.7. In narratives, the final vowel of a conceptual paragraph is often elongated. In some cases, the final consonant is elongated and the stress transferred from the penultimate to the last syllable (cf. Chapter 7 below: *Prikazna*).

3.8. In the following chapters, stress is indicated only if it cannot readily be deduced from the preceding remarks.

4. INFLEXION

4. PARTS OF SPEECH

4.Ø.1. In this chapter I deal with the autosemantic parts of speech. For the most part these words can be distinguished by inflexional endings from the synsemantic parts of speech. Although adverbs have no inflexion, very many members of this class display morphological affinities to inflecting parts of speech. /k'isło/ is here classified functionally as an indeclinable adjective, although on morphological grounds it might also be regarded as an adverb (cf. § 4.4.3 and § 4.5.1 below). The distinction between adverbs and particles can often be made only on a functional basis.

It is interesting to note that adverbs and particles are not distinguished in the English grammatical tradition as they are in Slavonic linguistics. Quirk/Greenbaum 1979 § 5.22–5.26 classify adverbs on the basis of the following functions:

Adverb as adverbial:

ADJUNCTS

"They are waiting *outside*"
"I can *now* understand it"
"He spoke to me about it *briefly*"

DISJUNCTS (Russian *vvodnye slova*):

"*Frankly*, I am tired"
"*Fortunately*, no one complained"
"They are *probably* at home"

CONJUNCTS have a connective function

"We have complained several times about the noise, and *yet* he does nothing about it"
"I have not looked into his qualifications. He seems very intelligent, *though*."
"If they open all the windows, *then* I'm leaving"

Adverb as modifier:

MODIFIER OF ADJECTIVE

"That was a *VERY funny* film"

MODIFIER OF ADVERB

"They are smoking *VERY heavily*"

MODIFIER OF PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE

"The nail went *RIGHT through* the wall"
"His parents are *DEAD against* the trip"

Quirk and Greenbaum use the expression *particle*, without defining it, when discussing such sentences as

"Drink *up* quickly"
"The plane has taken *off*"
"When will they give *in*?"

Quirk & Greenbaum say: "Most of the particles are place adjuncts or can function as such" (§ 12.2). Particles in this sense do not occur in our dialect. What Quirk & Greenbaum call adverbs as "modifiers of adjective" or "modifier of adverb" are classified here as adverbs of degree, but what Quirk & Greenbaum call adverbs as "modifiers of prepositional phrases" (see above) and *focussing adjuncts* (§ 8.8, cf. also Alexander, Longman English Grammar 1988, 141: "focus adverbs") are synsemantic words and are thus classified in this book as particles and dealt with in Chapter 6 below. Further, disjuncts are classified as modal particles and dealt with in Chapter 6 below.

4.Ø.2. On the basis of various sets of inflexional desinences which represent the morphological categories, the autosemantic words can be further subdivided into the following sub-classes:

1. nouns (substantives)
2. adjectives
3. adverbs
4. pronouns
5. numerals

These five sub-classes belong to the nominal (and pronominal) inflexional system (declension); they have at least certain categories and forms in common. In this respect they must be distinguished from the verbal inflexional system (conjugation), which is constituted by the subclass of:

6. verbs

The verbal system has formal endings and categories represented by those endings which belong uniquely to the subclass of verbs.

The non-inflecting word classes are:

7. prepositions
8. conjunctions
9. particles
1Ø. interjections

These classes will be dealt with in the chapter on syntax.

In some cases, a particular word may be classified in a particular way even though it does not display all formal characteristics of that class. Some nouns have only one number (singularia tantum or pluralia tantum [sgt - plt]). Non-count or mass nouns, e.g. /grozje/ "grapes", are singularia tantum. Indeclinable adjectives, that is, adjectives that do not display the formal characteristics of gender and number, are nevertheless classified as adjectives on the basis of their syntactic function.

In Russian grammar there has been much discussion of the *kategorija sostojanija* (cf. Axmanova, O.S.: *Slovar' lingvističeskix terminov.* Moskva 1966, 192; "predicative adverbs" as described in § 4.5.1 below). One might be tempted to place the word /stra/, as in *Mu e stra* "He is scared" in this class, since the morphological characteristics of a noun are absent. However, /stra/ is here classified as a noun, which is diachronically correct. Cf. § 2.5.2 above, § 4.3 below. The noun /greota/ occurs as a predicative adverb meaning "hard up, in a bad way".

In the non-inflecting word classes, there is a particle that distinguishes sex (cf. § 6.3.1Ø below). However, this is not sufficient reason to depart from the basic classification.

4.1. GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES

4.1.1. Nouns

Nouns (substantives) are characterized by the following categories:

1. number: singular and plural
2. gender: masculine, feminine and neuter
3. case: nominative (*casus rectus*), vocative

It may seem exaggerated to talk of a category of case, since the vocative is limited to a certain number of nouns and is, anyway, not strictly speaking a case at all. Similarly, it may not seem justified to use a term such as nominative, in the absence of any accusative, genitive, etc. Nevertheless, a noun such as /žena/ does distinguish the vocative, viz. /ženo/, from the *casus rectus*, traditionally nominative, viz. /žena/, and so this category must be mentioned.

4.1.1.1.

Apart from the category of unmarked plural, there are also a few instances of marked plurals, a second, numerative plural (*pl2*) and a third, collective plural (*pl3*). Cf. § 4.3.3.1.3, § 4.3.3.1.7, § 4.3.3.2.2. § 4.3.3.4 below.

4.1.1.2.

Saying that a particular noun is masculine means that it occurs with adjectives in the masculine form or that it can be replaced by the personal pronoun /toj/. Thus, /dedo/ is classified as masculine on the basis of, e.g. /dedo mu e nogu *star*/ "His grandfather is very old".

The category of gender is unstable in nouns with a stem in consonant + Ø (*casus rectus*). Thus, some nouns in this group can apparently be either masculine or feminine (cf. Gramatika II 1983, 99; and § 4.3.2.5 below). Further, a noun that is classified as masculine on the basis of adjectival agreement may take a feminine article.

In the plural, masculine nouns are distinguished from feminine and neuter nouns inasmuch as the former combine

with the form /dva/ of the numeral /dva/ "two", while the latter combine with the form /dve/. Cf. § 4.8 below.

4.1.2. Adjectives

Adjectives show the categories of gender (in the singular) and of number, depending on the nouns that they combine with. Adjectives can also be said to display degrees of comparison (positive, comparative, superlative), though these are analytically formed and might hence be excluded from the inflexional categories proper.

4.1.3. Adverbs

Adverbs have no inflexional categories, unless one regards the degrees of comparison as such (cf. preceding §).

4.1.4.[1] Pronouns

Pronouns distinguish the categories of number, gender, person and case. Their meaning is entirely grammatical. Case is distinguished only by the personal pronouns. The reflexive pronoun /šo/ has no grammatical categories and might even be classified as a particle, but in conjunction with the personal pronouns it can show case. Cf. § below. The category of person is distinguished only by the personal and possessive pronouns.

On the basis of grammatical meaning and use we divide the pronouns into the following classes:

1. personal
2. possessive
3. reflexive
4. possessive reflexive
5. intensive
6. demonstrative
7. interrogative
8. possessive interrogative
9. relative

---

[1] This section is based on Groen 1977,49 et seqq. and Lunt 1952,36 et seqq.

1Ø. indefinite
11. qualifying and quantifying

4.1.5. Numerals

Numerals are treated as a separate nominal class on the basis of their semantic, and, partly, formal relations, although some of them, on formal grounds, might be considered as nouns, e.g. /il'ada/ "thousand", while others are like adjectives /eden/ "one".

4.2. THE ARTICLE

The dialect of Gorno Kalenik has an article that characterizes a nominal phrase as definite (cf. also § 1.8 above).

There is no indefinite article. However, the numeral /eden edna edno edni/ can be used in a "specific" function: /dojde eden čoek/ "A (certain) person has come" (cf. § 1.7 below and Hill 1986, 24).

The forms of the article are bound morphemes[1] which must be attached to the first member of the nominal phrase which is capable of taking them. The following subclasses of words may take these forms: nouns, adjectives, possessive and intensive pronouns, and numerals.[2]

The article is one of the formal markers of these parts of speech. Thus, in a form such as /sabajleto/, the word /sabajle/ can be classified only as a noun, although it occurs also as an adverb, e.g. /dojde sabajle/ "He came early this morning".

---

[1] There has been some debate on the morphological status of the article, cf. Gyllin 1978, 1982

[2] Expressions such as /tri saato/ "three o'clock" are apparent exceptions to the rule that the article must be attached to the first member of the nominal phrase which is capable of taking it. Cf. /trite saati/ "the three hours". Expressions such as /tri saato/ are in fact derived from a sentence such as */saato je tri/ "The hour is three" (or its Greek equivalent). Today one might well classify /saato/ "o'clock" as an adverb, like its English counterpart (cf. *Macquarie Dictionary* McMahons Point, NSW 1982. 1199).

4.3. NOUNS

It can be stated as a general rule that the stem of a noun ends in a consonant. There are the following exceptions:

1. one masculine noun has a stem ending in <a>: <stra> "fear". One masculine noun has a stem ending in <o>: <gospo> "the Lord". In this latter instance, however, one might want to debate whether to analyse /gospo/ as <gospo + zero desinence> or <gosp + article>. While the latter interpretation seems unlikely since /gospo/ functions also as vocative, a category in which the article is normally precluded, there is no denying that /gospo/ displays the category of definiteness. Definiteness is normally a function of the article; on the other hand, one could possibly interpret /gospo/ as a proper noun, as members of this category are inherently definite. Following Groen, I choose to analyse /stra/ and /gospo/ as <stra + zero desinence> and <gospo + zero desinence>.
2. some feminine nouns have a stem ending in a vowel. They all take <-a> in the singular and <-i> in the plural.

   Examples: <stre-a> "eaves"
   <gla-a> "head"
   <sna-a> "daughter-in-law"
   <ko-a> "bucket, trough"
   <ǯami-a> "mosque" Cf. § 2.2.9 above

3. some masculine nouns with <-a> in the singular have a stem ending in <i>:

   Examples: <arami-a> "robber"
   <akči-a> "cook"

   Cf. § 2.2.9 above, § 4.3.2.4 below.

4.3.1. Singular

The singular is marked by the desinences <-Ø a o e>. The desinences <-Ø> or <-a> are taken by nouns which are

masculine or feminine, <-o> or <-e> by nouns which are masculine or neuter.

4.3.2. Gender

4.3.2.1. Masculine

The overwhelming majority of masculine nouns take a zero desinence in the singular. All masculine nouns with a desinence other than zero (i.e. <-a o e>) denote male human beings, among them kinship terms or nouns denoting males with certain negative characteristics, professions, and proper nouns.

Examples with zero desinence:	with <-a>[1]
<ap>	<komši-a>
"tablet"	"neighbour"
<stojan>	<vladik-a>
man's name (proper noun)	"bishop"
<solun>	
"Salonika" (proper noun)	

with <-o>		with <-e>	
		(proper nouns only:)	
<tatk-o>	"father"	<tom-e>	"Tom"
<brač-o>	"cousin" (term of endearment)	<fot-e>	"Photios"

4.3.2.2. Feminine

Nouns that are feminine have a singular desinence either in <-a> (the great majority) or in zero.

Examples of feminine nouns in <-a>:

<žen-a>	"woman; wife"
<lub-a>	proper noun (woman's name)

---

[1] Cf. § 4.3.2.4 below.

with zero:

<bolest> "illness"
<ərž> "rye"
<kərv> "blood"
<mas> "butter"
<sol> "salt"
<večer> "evening"

4.3.2.3. Neuter

Neuter nouns take either <-o> or <-e> in the singular.

Examples:

in <-o>	in <-e>
<brašn-o> "flour"	<kaf-e> "coffee"
<ok-o> "eye"	(numerous diminutives and nouns denoting young beings, such as:)
	<pərl-e> "young donkey"

4.3.2.4. Epicene Nouns

A number of nouns in <-a> denoting human beings are either masculine or feminine depending as they refer to males or females, thus:

<arami-a> "robber"
/golem aramija/ "a great thief (*masc.*)"
/golema aramija/ "a great thief (*fem.*)"
/gərck'i, turck'i aramija/ "a Greek, Turkish robber (*masc.*)"
/gərcka, turcka aramija/ "a Greek, Turkish robber (*fem.*)"

Further examples:

<rodnin-a> "relative"
<pianic-a> "drunkard"
<orali-a> "dancer"

This category also includes at least one noun in zero:

‹sirak› "orphan"

In the micro-dialect of Gorno Kalenik - as distinct from that of Dołno Kalenik - /komšija/ "neighbour" is masculine only, the feminine form being /komšika/, and /budała/ "fool" is feminine, the back-formation /budał/ serving to denote the masculine.

4.3.2.5. Variant Gender

Some nouns, such as /žar/ "heat", appear to have either masculine or feminine gender.

The nouns /pomoš/ "help" and /vərs/ "age" take the article /ta/ but either a masculine or feminine adjective:

/golem pomoš/	"a great help"
/mi treba nin *or* nina pomoš/	"I need his help"
/od istjo *or* istata vərs/	"of the same age"

4.3.3. Plural

4.3.3.1. Masculine

4.3.3.1.1. Nouns with a monosyllabic stem taking ‹-Ø› in the singular have ‹-oi› in the plural:

‹ap›	"tablet"	/apoi/
‹arž›	"purchase"	/aržoi/
‹boj›	"battle"	/bojoi/

(but cf. § 4.3.3.1.7 below)

4.3.3.1.2. Masculine nouns with a singular desinence ‹-o› take ‹-oi› in the plural:

‹tatk-o›	"father"	/tatkoi/
‹strik-o›	"uncle (father's brother)"	/strikoi/
‹ded-o›	"grandfather"	/dedoi/
‹nunk-o›	"godfather; bestman"	/nunkoi/

4.3.3.1.3. Some masculine nouns take the ending <-je>, either exclusively or as a variant to the desinence <-i>. The desinence may express a "collective" nuance:

<list>	"leaf"	/lisje/	Cf. § 2.4.3 above
<kamen>	"stone"	/kamen'e/	Cf. § 2.2.3 above
<snop>	"sheaf"	/snopje/	
<tərn>	"thorn, prickle"	/tərn'e/	
<fidan>	"fruit-tree"	/fidan'e/ & /fidani/	

4.3.3.1.4. The noun <kojn> "horse" takes the desinence <-e>:

<kojn> <kojn-e>

The plural must be interpreted as /kon'e/ since it displays the alternation /n/ ~ /n'/ (Cf.§ 2.2.1Ø above)

4.3.3.1.5. The noun <čoek> "man" has the irregular plural /lug'e/ "people". Cf. also § 4.3.3.4.1 below.

4.3.3.1.6. One stem, <brat> "brother", has the plural desinence <-ja>, which causes /t/ --> /k'/ (cf. § 2.5.8 above):

<brat> /brak'a/

4.3.3.1.7. There are a few nouns that take the plural ending <-ja> preceded by the suffix <-išk>. The meaning of this plural is "collective", contrasting with the unmarked plural. Note that the final <k> of the suffix is palatalized (cf.§ 2.5.1 above).

<grob>	"grave"	/grobišča/	"cemetery"
		/groboi/	"graves"

4.3.3.1.8. All other masculine nouns take the desinence <-i> in the plural. Examples:

<bračed>	"cousin"	/bračedi/	
<saat>	"hour"	/saati/	
<zełnik>	"pie"	/zełnici/	Cf. § 2.5.5 above
<oref>	"nut"	/orei/	Cf. § 2.5.4 above
<vładika>	"bishop"	/vładici/	Cf. § 2.5.5 above
<aramia>	"robber"	/aramii/	

The following monosyllabic stems take the plural ending <-i>:

<fnuk>	"grandson; nephew"	/fnuci/ Cf. § 2.5.5 above
<gərk>	"Greek"	/gərci/
<noft>	"(finger-, toe-)nail"	/nofti/
<pat>	"time"	/pati/[1]
<pərst>	"finger"	/pərsti/
<čeł>	"shoe"	/čeli/
<vłaf>	"Vlach"	/vłasi/ Cf. § 2.5.5 above
<vək>	"wolf"	/vəci/
<zab>	"tooth"	/zabi/

4.3.3.1.9. Apart from the cases mentioned in § 2.5 above, there is stem variation in the plural of a number of nouns denoting inhabitants of towns and villages.

a. <e> in the suffix <ec> is realized as Ø in the plural:

<lerin+ec>	"man from Lerin"	/lerinci/
<kleščin+ec>	"man from Kleščina"	/kleščinci/
<višen+ec>	"man from Višeni"	/višenci/
<bapčor+ec>	"man from Bapčor"	/bapčorci/

(Cf. § 2.5.9 above).

b. in nouns derived with the complex suffixes <en+ec>, <an+ec> the second morph is dropped before the plural ending:

<rul+en+ec>	"man from Rula"	/ruleni/
<static+en+ec>	"man from Statica"	/statičeni/
<bitol+č+an+ec>	"man from Bitola"	/bitolčani/

c. in the following case, the suffix <an> is added in the plural:

<sołun+ec> "man from Salonika (Solun)"

/sołunčani/

---

[1] But note that <pat> "way, road" has the regular plural /patoi/.

4.3.3.1.1Ø. The noun <den> has two plurals, /dni dena/. After cardinal numerals /dena/ is preferred, but otherwise the two forms are in free variation:

/dva dena/	"two days"
/nogu dni/	"many days"
/edni dena/	"some days"
/vu starite dena/	"in the olden days"

(Cf. also § 4.3.3.4 below.)

4.3.3.2. Feminine

4.3.3.2.1. A small number of monosyllabic feminine nouns with zero desinence in the singular take <-oi> in the plural:

<kał> "mud" /kałoi/ (in the expression /nogu kaloi/ "It's very muddy")

4.3.3.2.2. The collective plural ending <-je> occurs with some feminine nouns (cf. § 4.3.3.1.3 above).

Examples:

<niv-a>	"field"	/nivje/
<płanin-a>	"mountain"	/płanin'e/ (Cf. § 2.2.3 above)

4.3.3.2.3. One feminine noun takes <-ini> in the plural:

<bolest>	"illness"	/bolestini/ (besides /bolesti/)

4.3.3.2.4. All other feminine nouns take <-i>:

<žen-a>	"woman; wife"	/ženi/	
<grad-a>	"breast"	/gradi/	
<kuk'-a>	"house"	/kuk'i/	
<knig-a>	"paper; letter"	/knig'i/	Cf.§2.3.4 above
<ǯami-a>	"mosque"	/ǯamii/	
<mu-a>	"fly"	/mui/	
<boj-a>	"colour"	/boi/	Cf.§2.4.9 above
<gła-a>	"head"	/głai/	
<nog-a>	"foot, leg"	/noʒi/	Cf.§2.5.5 above
<rak-a>	"hand, arm"	/raci/	

4.3.3.3. Neuter

4.3.3.3.1. Two neuter nouns take the plural ending <-i>:

<ok-o> "eye" /oči/
<uš-e> "ear" /uši/

4.3.3.3.2. All neuter nouns with a singular ending <-o> and neuter nouns with stemfinal <c> as well as some others with singular ending <-e> take the plural desinence <-a>:

<seł-o> "village" /seła/
<jabək-o> "apple" /jabəka/
<jajc-e> "egg" /jajca/
<velenc-e> "rug" /velenca/, also /velencina velencin'a/
<łozj-e> "vineyard" /łozja/

The plural of /ramo/ "shoulder" is formed from a modified stem:

<ram-o> /ramen'a/.

4.3.3.3.3. Most neuter nouns with a singular desinence <-e> take the plural desinence <-ina in'a> (cf. § 2.3.5 above):

<tel-e> "calf" /telina telin'a/
<cvek'-e> "flower" /cvek'ina cvek'in'a/
<velenc-e> cf. preceding §

4.3.3.4. Marked Plural

4.3.3.4.1. The collective plural forms were mentioned under § 4.3.3.1.3, 4.3.3.1.7, 4.3.3.2.2. above. They are marked by the desinences <išk-ja>, <-je> and <-ja>.

The noun <čoek> has an unmarked, defective plural /lug'e/ (cf. § 4.3.3.1.5 above). With numerals, however, the plural is /mina/ or /duši/, thus:

/nogu lug'e/ "many people" but:

/dva mina/ or /dva duši/ "two people"
/četiri mina/ or /četiri duši/ "four people"

The form /duši/ "people (*pl2*)" is distinct from the unmarked plural of /duša/ "soul, spirit", which is construed with the non-masculine numeral /dve/. Cf. § 4.7 below.

It is doubtful if there are any other instances of numerative plurals (*pl2*) in this dialect. The numerative plural is clearly a recessive category, the unmarked plural being normally used after numerals (cf. Hendriks 1976, 133; Groen 1977, 67):

/dva gradoi/ "two towns"
/pet brak'a/ "five brothers"

The noun /den/ "day" has two plurals, /dni/ and /dena/, of which the second appears to be used more often after numerals. Cf. § 4.3.3.1.1Ø above.

4.3.3.5. Singularia tantum

A number of nouns have no plural form and are therefore *singularia tantum*. Examples:

/grozje/ "grapes"
/k'ereste/ "timber"

4.3.3.6. Pluralia tantum

A number of nouns have only a plural form and are therefore *pluralia tantum*. Examples:

/ʒərʒała/ "reading glasses, spectacles"
/bečvi/ "baggy men's trousers"
/gašči/ "underpants"
/plački/ "clothes"
/nošvi/ "kneading trough"
/trici/ "bran"

Where individual items can be perceived in this category, they can be enumerated using the noun /rało/ "pair" as a quantifier, thus:

/edno rało gašči/ "a pair of underpants"
/dve rała gašči/ "two pairs of underpants"
/dve rała ʒərʒała/ "two pairs of reading glasses, spectacles"

4.3.4. Vocative

4.3.4.1. Masculine

The vocative desinences are <-u> and <-e> but this is not a productive category in the masculine.

Monosyllabic stems that take a zero desinence in the singular and which denote relations have a vocative in <-u>:

<brat> "brother" /bratu/
<maž> "husband" /mažu/
<zet> "son-in-law; brother-in-law" /zetu/
<svat> "in-law" /svatu/

Other nouns that take a zero desinence in the singular have no overt marker, i.e. a zero desinence in the vocative:

<bračed> "cousin" /bračet/ (or /bračko/, cf. below)

Proper nouns do not have a distinct vocative form:

<stojan> "Stojan" /stojan/

One noun has a vocative in <-e>:

<pop> "priest" /pope/

The form /bate/ is a form of address used by children to address a brother.

There are a few nouns with a singular desinence in <-o> which function only as a form of address to a male person. Thus, /bračko/ functions as a form of address to a cousin.

Masculine nouns that take the ending <-a> in the *casus rectus* retain it in the vocative:

<komši-a> "neighbour" /komšija/

4.3.4.2. Feminine

The vocative desinences are <-o> and <-e>. Most nouns take <-o>:

<žen-a>	"woman; wife"	/ženo/
<sna-a>	"daughter-, sister-in-law"	/snao/
<bračed-a>	"cousin"	/bračedo/
<len-a>	*woman's name*	/leno/
<lub-a>	*woman's name*	/lube/

Other feminine nouns with the ending <-a> in the *casus rectus* retain it in the vocative:

<budała>	"fool"	/budała/

Nouns in <k>, <k'>, <g'> or <ic> take <-e>:

<svak'a>	"in-law"	/svak'e/
<popag'-a>	"priest's wife"	/popag'e/
<ciloica>	"Cilo's wife"	/ciloice/

As mentioned in § 3.1.2 above, a double stress can also serve as a formal marker of the vocative. In such cases, the final morpheme in a noun used as a form of address may be the same as in the *casus rectus*. Thus, a woman called *Cana* may be addressed as /cano/, /cane/ or /cana/. Also /teta/ besides /teto/ "aunt".

4.3.4.3. Epicene

Epicene nouns in <-a> retain this ending in the vocative:

<arami-a>	"robber"	/aramija/

4.4. ADJECTIVES

4.4.1. The stem of adjectives ends in a consonant except for a small number that are mostly loanwords (see below).

Adjective have three gender forms in the singular and one for the plural, where gender is not distinguished.

The desinences for masculine are <-i> or <-Ø>: when the stem ends in <sk>, <ck> or <čk>, the desinence is <-i>, otherwise it is <-Ø>. One adjective with stem in <ž>, viz. <čuž> "someone else's, foreign", may take either <-Ø> or <-i>. This adjective has a great semantic similarity with a possessive pronoun, which appears to account for its abnormal behaviour in this respect. It can thus be compared with the pronoun <čiji> "whose". The adjectives /kutri/ "wretched, unfortunate" and /pusti/ "accursed" do not, apparently, occur with a zero ending.

The desinence for feminine is <-a>, for neuter <-o>. The plural desinence is <-i>.

Examples:

<bogat>	"wealthy"	/bogat bogata bogato bogati/
<błag>	"sweet"	/błak błaga błago błag'i/
		Cf. § 2.3.1, 2.3.4 above
<žežok>	"hot"	/žežok žeška žeško žešk'i/
		Cf. § 2.3.4 above
<gotof>	"ready"	/gotof gótoa gótoo gótoi/
		Cf. § 2.5.4, 3.3.9 above
<suf>	"dry"	/suf sua suo sui/
		Cf. § 2.5.4 above
<živ>	"live; raw"	/žif živa živo živi/
		Cf. § 2.3.1 above

4.4.2. One adjective, <malečk> "small", appears to be defective: only the f. and n. forms are recorded in my material and the m. forms *</malečok/ or *</malečk'i/ are rejected by my informants.

4.4.3. A small group of adjectives, mainly loans from Turkish, are indeclinable:

<asli>	"genuine"	/asli/
<kəsmetlia>	"lucky"	/kəsmetlija/
<čuruk>	"rotten, worthless"	/čuruk/

4.4.4. Comparison

The comparative degree is expressed by the prefix[1] <po> and the superlative degree by the prefix <naj>:

/postar čoek/ "an older man"
/najstarjo čoek/ "the oldest man"

(Cf. also § 3.1.3 above.)

These prefixes can also be affixed to nouns, thus:

/pó_domak'in/ "a better housekeeper, more of a housekeeper"
/tije se pó_majstori/ "They are better artisans"

4.5. ADVERBS

4.5.1. Adverbs denote a feature of an action or event, of another feature or of an object (cf. Gramatika II 1983, 387). Thus they can modify a verb, an adjective, or another adverb. An adverb can also occur as an attribute modifying a noun:

/lug'eto *tuka* se celi ułai/ "The people *here* are all crazy"

Adverbs may also act as the complement of the verb /e/ "be", as in:

/ałaf/ "of advantage, welcome"
/a. neka mu se/, /ałav da mu se/ "He's welcome to them", "May he prosper with them", "Good luck to him!" cf. /aram/
/aram/ "bad, shameful"
/aram da ti e/ "May it do you no good!", "You should be ashamed of yourself!"
/čumu/ (orig. prn.)
"what for?" /č. ti se/ "What use are they to you?"; /č. ti e da rabotaš/ "Why bother to work?"
/gnas/ "repugnant"
/mi e nogu g. da oda tamo/ "I don't like going there one bit"
/inak/ "otherwise; different"

---

[1] <po> and <naj> are classified by Gramatika (II 1983, 498) as particles.

/i. k'e bide rabotata/ "This is not what it seems"
/žal/
"sorry" /mu e ž./ "He is sorry" /ž. mu e za kučeto/ "She feels sorry for the dog"

Such adverbs can be referred to as *predicative adverbs* (cf. Gramatika II 1983, 399), in Russian the *kategorija sostojanija* referred to in § 4.Ø.2 above.

In this book modal particles (cf. § 6.3 below), which express the speaker's attitude to the content of an utterance, are distinguished from adverbs, although there are certain items whose classification causes difficulties.

Adverbs are generally classified as adverbs of manner, degree, place, time and cause. The modal adverbs described in Gramatika II 1983, 4Ø5 are here classified as particles (cf. § 6.3 below).

Many adverbs are derived from other word classes. A very productive way of forming adverbs (adverbs of manner) is from adjectives. The neuter form of an adjective is used as an adverb:

<aren>	"good"	/arno/
<ubaf>	"beautiful"	/ubao/

Adjectives that take the m.sg. desinence <-i> may form adverbial expressions with the preposition /po/:

/po makedonck'i/ "in the Macedonian way" or "in Macedonian"

The adverbial expression /po naše/ "in our way" appears to be derived from the n.sg. of the possessive pronoun <naš>.

The interrogative adverb of cause /zaščo/, /zoščo/ "why?" is formed from the preposition /za/ and the pronoun /šo/ (cf. § 4.6.6 below).

The adverb of place /doma/ "at home" is derived from an old genitive.

4.5.2. There are a number of adverbs which are strongly related to the interrogative, relative, demonstrative and indefinite pronouns (cf. § 4.6 below)

	place		time	
interrogative	/deka, dea/	"where"	/koa/	"when"
demonstrative	/tamo/	"there"	/togaj/	"then"
	/vak'i/	"over here"		
	/ónak'i/	"yonder"		
indefinite	/níkade/	"nowhere"		
	/sékade/	"everywhere"		
	/nékade/	"somewhere"		

	manner		quantity	
interrogative	/kako/	"how"	/koku/	"how many, how much"
relative	/kako šo/	"as"	/koku šo/	"as many, as much as"
demonstrative	/taka/	"thus"	/toku/	"so much"
	/vaka/	"like this"		
indefinite	/nékako/	"somehow"		
	/níkako/	"no way"		

4.5.3. Here is a list of common underived adverbs:

manner, degree & quantity

/dip/	"completely, very"
/dosta/	"enough"
/kałabałok/	"lots"
/kup/	"altogether
/mału/, /małce/	"a little"
/nogu/	"much, many"
/tokmu/	"just, exactly"
/troa/, /trofče/	"a little" cf. /małce/
/vekot/	"a great deal" cf. /kałabałok/

place

/blizu/	"nearby"
/daleku/	"far away"
/dołu/	"below, down there, downstairs"
/doma/	"at home"
/družže/	"somewhere else"
/gore/	"above, up there, upstairs"
/nadvur/	"outside"
/napre/	"in front"
/nastrede/	"in the middle"
/natre/	"inside"
/otkarši/	"opposite"
/tamo/	"there"
/tuka/	"here"

time

/denes/	"today"
/ednaš/	"once"
/łani/	"last year"
/nekni/	"the other day"
/ołómłani/	"the year before last"
/pərven/	"at first"

4.5.4. Comparison

Adverbs of manner derived from qualitative adjectives are subject to comparison. Comparison is expressed with the same prefixes as for adjectives:

/arno/ "well" /poarno/ "better"

The adverb of quantity /nogu/ "much, many" has an irregular comparative form /pok'e/ (and also the pleonastic /popok'e/).

On stress cf. § 3.1.3 above.

4.6. PRONOUNS

Pronouns are defined by their function of replacing forms belonging to certain other parts of speech. Thus the posses-

sive pronouns are classified as such, despite their strong formal similarity with adjectives.

Semantically and formally pronouns are very heterogeneous, distinguishing in some instances many grammatical categories, in others only one or two.

4.6.1. Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns distinguish number (singular & plural), person (1st, 2nd, 3rd) and, in the 3.sg., gender (m., f., n.) The personal pronouns are the only class of words which distinguish case. They have special forms, which I shall call nominative, accusative and dative, using the traditional terminology. The accusative has both short (clitic) and long (emphatic) forms. The long forms are used also after prepositions.

The suffix /ka/ can be added to /jas/, /nas/ and /vas/ for emphasis. The forms /jaska naska vaska/ are in free variation with /jas nas vas/, thus:

/ne sakam jaska/ or /ne sakam jas/ "I don't want to"
/beše kaj naska ama si otide/ "He was at our place,
or /... kaj nas.../ but he went off"

			nominative	accusative	dative
	1		jas(ka)	me *mene*	mi
	2		ti	te *tebe*	ti
sg.		m	toj	(g)o *ne(g)o*	
	3	n	toa		mu
		f	ta(j)a	(j)a *nea*	
	1		nije	ne *nas(ka)*	ni
pl.	2		vije	ve *vas(ka)*	vi
	3		tije, tija	i *ni*	mu

The emphatic forms of the accusative also function as emphatic dative forms in conjunction with the short dative form, e.g.

/mene mi reče/ "he told *me*"

Otherwise the emphatic dative is expressed by the preposition + long form accusative:

/na koj mu reče? na nego/ "Whom did you tell? - Him."

It should be noted that the personal pronouns are also used to duplicate objects expressed by a definite substantive (i.e. one used with the article) or by a substantive that is intrinsically definite (i.e. a proper noun). This phenomenon is referred to as "reduplication of the object" (cf. Banfi 1985 3.6.4) or "pronominal prolepsis". While it is obligatory in the Macedonian standard language (cf. Lunt 1952 §2.311), it is observed in only about 80-90% of cases in the dialect of Gorno Kalenik. Examples:

/mu a dadu kajsijata na ženata/
"I gave the apricot *to her* to the woman"

The short forms of the dative of the personal pronouns are used in the possessive construction with nouns denoting relatives (cf. following §):

/sestra mi (ti mu ni vi)/
"My (your, his, her, their, our, your) sister"

The sentence

/mara a vide majka mu/

has 4 translations:

"Mara saw her (own) mother"
"Mara saw her (another's) mother"
"Mara saw his mother"
"Mara saw their mother"

and, in the last interpretation, "their" might be inclusive or exclusive of Mara.

It will be noted that the reflexive pronoun /si/ (cf. § 4.6.3 below) is not used in this construction.

The 3. sg. personal pronoun has a variant form /on ono ona oni/, which appears to be in free variation with /toj toa taa tije/ in the speech of certain individuals.

4.6.2. Possessive Pronouns

Possessive pronouns distinguish number and person of the noun referred to, number (sg & pl) of the noun they qualify, and gender of the noun they qualify in the singular.

The desinences are: for m. <-Ø>, for f. <-a>, for n. 3rd person <-o>, otherwise the neuter ending is <-e>; for pl. <-i>. The stem of the 1st and 2nd person pronoun is modified in the feminine and neuter.

	msg	fsg	nsg	pl	
1sg	moj	moa	moe	moi	<moji>
2sg	tvoj	tvoa	tvoe	tvoi	<tvoji>
3sg	nin	nina	nino	nini	
1pl	naš	naša	naše	naši	
2pl	vaš	vaša	vaše	vaši	
3pl	nin	nina	nino	nini	

With kinship terms, the possessive pronouns may be replaced by the possessive construction (cf. preceding §), thus:

/našata majka/	or /majka ni/	"our mother"
/nin'o maš/	or /mažot mu/	"her husband"

It will be noted that there is no reflexive possessive pronoun, thus:

/a vide ninata majka (majka mu)/ "He saw his mother"

4.6.3. Reflexive Pronoun

The reflexive pronoun refers to the subject of the sentence. There are two forms, /se/ and /si/, corresponding to the accusative and dative forms of the personal pronouns. However, the category "reflexive" is restricted in this dialect. The pronouns /se/ and /si/ are used as follows:

1. with a reflexive meaning:

/se tople kaj sobata/ "He warms himself at the stove"

2. with a reciprocal meaning:

/se sakat/ "They love each other"

3. with a passive meaning:

/takvi nešča ne se praat kaj nas/
"Such things are not done here"

4. with a limited number of verbs to express desire, need, (im)possibility:

/mi se jade/ "I'm hungry"
/mi se pije/ "I'm thirsty"
/mi se spije/ "I'm sleepy"

5. with lexically determined verbs:

/se blua/ "vomit"
/se pule zdraf/ "He looks well"
/se pule ubao tuka/"It looks good here"
/se najade/ "Have you had enough (eaten your fill)?"
/ajde da se napijeme edno kafe/
"Let's have a cup of coffee"

The use of /si/ is largely restricted to the "exclusive function" (cf. Reiter 1984): it denotes that the action is performed by the subject for himself and to the exclusion of others (middle

mood according to Mazon 1923,39). Examples from the dialect of Gorno Kalenik are:

/spi si/	"Go on sleeping (and don't worry about us)!"
/si sede/	"He just sits there (minding his own business)"
/si pea/	"I'm reading"
/si łafat/	"They're chatting"
/si oda/	"I'm leaving"
/si dojde/	"He came home"

The emphatic (non-enclitic) reflexive pronoun is /sebe (si)/, cf. Lexicon. However, it is seldom used. Instead of /beri gajle za sebe si/ "Look after yourself", "Mind your own business", one would normally say /beri gajle za tebe/; cf. /o naprai toa za neo/ "He did it for himself" (contextual interpretation; otherwise "He did it for him, i.e. someone else"); cf. also /ne živa za drug'i lug'e, živa za mene/ "I don't live for other people, I live for myself".

/se/ and /si/ are treated here as pronouns, which is diachronically correct. However, they are desemanticized to the extent that they can also be regarded as particles. According to this interpretation, /se/ and /si/ are particles used to form intransitive verbs (cf. Gramatika II 1983, 497-498). This latter interpretation is all the more plausible since the category of reflexivity is obsolescent in the Lerin dialect.

4.6.4. Intensive Pronoun

The intensive pronouns means "self, myself, himself *etc.*", depending on the noun or pronoun to which it refers. It has the same desinences as adjectives and can also take the article (cf. § 4.8 below):

<sam> /sam sama samo sami/
/samjo samata samoto samite/

/sam dojdu/	"I came myself"
/se mijef sama/	"I washed myself (f.)"

/samjo pop dojde/ or /popo sam dojde/
"The priest himself came"

<sam> may also have the meaning "alone":

/sam živa/ "I live by myself (m.)"

/popo dojde sam/ would normally be interpreted as "the priest came alone"

4.6.5. Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns express the opposition proximity vs. distance, formally <v> vs. <t>. In addition, they distinguish number and, in the sg., gender.

	m	f	n	pl
"near"	voj	vaa, vaja	voa	vije, vija
"far"	toj	taa, taja	toa	tije, tija

4.6.6. Interrogative Pronouns

The interrogative for things, English "what", is expressed by the indeclinable /šo/, the interrogative for persons, English "who", by the also indeclinable /koj/. Attributively, <koj> distinguishes number and, in the sg., gender: /koj koja koje koi/.

When governed by a preposition, the pronoun /šo/ assumes the form /ščo/:

/odoščo da mi e stra/ "What have I to be afraid of?"

Note also

/zoščo (zaščo) dojde/ "Why did he come?", "What did he come for?"

4.6.7. Possessive Interrogative Pronoun

The possessive interrogative pronoun <či-> expresses a question of the relation of one noun or pronoun to another,

English "whose". It distinguishes number and, in the sg., gender: <čii čia čie čii>.

/čije dete si ti/ "Whose son are you?"
/čija kuk'a e/ "Whose house is it?"

4.6.8. Relative Pronouns

The interrogative pronoun /šo/ is also used as a relative pronoun, but in this function it may refer to an antecedent of any gender.

/decata šo dojdoa/ "the children that came"
/decata šo i vidome nije/ "the children *we* saw"

4.6.9. Indefinite Pronouns

The indefinite pronouns make use of the prefixes /ni/, expressing negation, /ne/ expressing indefiniteness, and /se/ expressing universality. They are:

/nikoj/	"no-one"	/ništčo/	"nothing"
/nekoj/	"someone"	/nešto/	"something"
/sekoj/	"everyone"		

In attributive use, the three pronouns in the left column distinguish number, and, in the sg., gender:

/sekoj sékoa (sékoja) sékoe sékoi/
/nikoj níkoa (níkoja) níkoe níkoi/

/toj ne može da žive so nikoja žena/
"He can live with no woman", "He can't live with any woman"
/mi reče nekoe dete/ "Some boy told me"

/nešto/ also occurs as a noun, meaning "thing":

/sekoj pat i prikažva istite nešča/
"He tells us the same things every time"

There is another indefinite pronoun /se/ "everything". It is singular and neuter:

/se e noo tuka/ "Everything is new here"

The plural /səti/ refers to people, but this meaning is often expressed by the quasi-pronominal form /celi/, pl. of the adjective /cel/ "whole"[1].

/səti (celi) praat taka/ "Everyone does that" or "They all do that"

/səti sobrame pet il'adi liri/
"all together we collected £5ØØØ"

Attributively /sət səta səto səti/, e.g.

/səto seło/ (= /cełoto seło/)
"the whole village"

/se/ occurs also attributively in the expression /so_sé/, e.g.

/so_sé čupin'ata/ "with those girls and all"

Finally, there is another indefinite pronoun /filan/ "a certain, so-and-so". It is mainly used attributively and is indeclinable:

/filan čoek/ "a certain person, so-and-so"
/filan mesto/ "a certain place, some place or other"

4.6.1Ø. Qualifying and Quantifying Pronouns

The qualifying pronouns are <kakov> "what sort of", <takov> and <vakov> "such", <sekakov> "all sorts of" and <nikakov> "no sort of". The endings are as follows: <-Ø a o i>. The /o/ in the suffix is deleted in all forms except m.sg. As an example we list the forms of <kakov>:

/kakof kakva kakvo kakvi/

---

[1] Cf. Greek *ólos* "whole", pl. *óloi* "everyone"

Instead of <kakov> the interrogative /šo/ may also be used as an exclamatory qualifying pronoun:

/šo ubaa žena ė taa/ "What a beautiful woman she is!"

Also as interrogative qualifying pronoun:

/šo rabota prae?/	"What work is he doing?"
/šo saat e?/	"What is the time?"

The quantifying pronouns are <kokaf> "how big", <vokaf> "this big" and <tokaf> "that big". The endings are as follows: <-Ø a o i>. /f/ is deleted in all forms except the m.sg. (cf. § 2.5.4 above). As an example we list the forms of <kokaf>:

/kokaf kókaa kókao kókai/

4.7. NUMERALS

The numerals can be divided into three groups: cardinals, ordinals and collectives. Ordinals could be classified as adjectives, but I treat them, in accordance with traditional practice, as numerals.

4.7.1. The cardinal numeral "one" is the only numeral that distinguishes gender and number (by means of adjectival endings):

/eden čoek/, /edna žena/, /edno čupe [neuter]/
"one man, one woman, one little girl"
/edni lug'e/ "some people"[1]

---

[1] It is debatable whether the plural /edni/ is, in fact, a numeral. One might also classify it as an adverb of quantity, or, to use a more modern term, as a quantifier. Further, one could distinguish the "specific" use of /eden/ (cf. § 1.2 above) as /eden/$_2$ from the cardinal numeral /eden/$_1$:

/eden čoek/	"one man"	= /eden/$_1$
/eden čoek/	"a certain man"	= /eden/$_2$
/edni lug'e/	"some people"	= /eden/$_1$, pl.
/edni lug'e/	"certain people"	= /eden/$_2$, pl.

The cardinal numeral "two" expresses only masculine or mixed gender versus non-masculine:

/dva maži/ "two men"
/dve ženi/, /dve čupina [neuter]/
"two women, two little girls"

Note that the personal classifiers /duši/ and /mina/ take /dva/:

/dva duši/ or /dva mina/"two people" Cf. § 4.3.3.4 above.

All other cardinals have only one form.

The cardinals from 11-19 are formed from the numerals 1 to 9 + suffix /najse/; the tens from "3Ø" onwards take the suffix /ese/, in "2Ø" this suffix is /jse/. The plural of /sto/, /stotini/, is used to form the cardinals "4ØØ" - "9ØØ". The numeral "1ØØØ", /il'ada/, also has a plural /il'adi/. Both /sto/ and especially /il'ada/ are thus similar to nouns (like their English counterparts).

4.7.2. The ordinals are formed, with a few exceptions, on the basis of the stem of the cardinal + a suffix, mostly <t>, and adjectival endings. The numerals "1" and "2" have suppletive forms for the ordinals, "3" and "4" undergo unique alternations. It will be noted that these latter ordinals (1-4) have the zero ending in the m.sg., whereas those above 4 have <-i>. The ordinals 7 and 8 have a zero suffix.

4.7.3. The forms /dvajca trojca/ may be used with the unmarked plural of nouns denoting male persons, but in general it can be said that the collective numerals are an obsolescent (recessive) class in this dialect.

/dvajca maži/ or /dva maži/ "two men"

These collective numerals are also used pronominally:
/dvajcata dojdoa/ "The two of them (m.) came"

4.7.4. An approximate number can be expressed by using the suffix <in-a>, which is added to the ordinal stem of the numerals above 1Ø, thus -

/trijestina lug'e/ "around 3Ø people"

4.7.5. "Half" is expressed by /pol/: /četiri i pol/ "four-and-a-half" (or "four thirty"). Note also /ná_pol/ "half-and-half".

4.7.6.

NUMERALS: Summary

	cardinals	ordinals
1	eden edna edno edni	pərf pərva pərvo pərvi *or* pərven pərvna pərvno pərvni
2	dva dve	ftor
3	tri	tret
4	čétiri	četvort
5	pet	petti
6	šes	šesti (cf. § 2.4.3 above)
7	sedum	sedmi
8	osum	osmi
9	devet	devetti
1Ø	deset	desetti
11	edinajse	edinajsti
12	dvanajse	dvanajsti
13	trinajse	trinajsti
14	četirinajse	
15	petnajse	
16	šesnajse	
17	sedumnajse	
18	osumnajse	
19	devetnajse	
2Ø	dvajse	dvajsti
21	dvajse i eden	dvajse i pərf
3Ø	tríjese	tríjesti
4Ø	četiríjese	četiríjesti
5Ø	pédese	pédesti
6Ø	šéese	šéesti
7Ø	sedúmdese	sedúmdesti
8Ø	osúmdese	osúmdesti
9Ø	devédese	devédesti
1ØØ	sto	stoti
1Ø1	sto i eden	
2ØØ	dveste	

3ØØ	trista
4ØØ	četiri stotini
5ØØ	pet stotini
1ØØØ	il'ada
2ØØØ	dve il'adi

Note also /dva trinajse/ "baker's dozen".

4.8. THE ARTICLE[1]

The article is expressed by the following morphs:

Adjectives and pronouns ending in <-Ø> take /jo/. Where the stem of the feminine form of the adjective differs from that of the masculine by adding /t/ to the latter, the masculine form with the article is derived from the indefinite feminine form after deleting <-a>. Adjectives in <-i> in the m.sg. delete this before adding /jo/. (Cf. also § 2.2.3 and § 4.6.4 above.)

Masculine nouns in <-Ø> take /o/. The same applies to possessive pronouns with a stem ending in <j>.

Feminine nouns in <-Ø> and all nouns, adjectives and pronouns in <-a> take /ta/.

All nouns, adjectives and pronouns in <-e> or <-o> take /to/.

All cardinal numerals not ending in <-a>, all nouns in <-oi> or <-i> and plural adjectives and pronouns in <-i> take /te/.

Examples:

/star/	"old"	/starjo maš/	"the old man"
/nof/	"new"	/nofjo kojn/	"the new horse"
/mał/	"small"	/mal'o maš/	"the small man"
/błak/	"sweet"	/błak'o zełnik/	"the sweet pie"
/nin kojn/	"a horse of his"		
		/nin'o kojn/	"his horse"
/is/, f.: /ista/	"the same"		
		/istjo čoek/	"the same man"
/ing'ilisk'i/	"English"	/ing'ilisk'o laf/	"the English expression"
/vək/	"wolf"	/vəko/	"the wolf"

---

[1] Cf. also § 4.2 above.

/tvoj ap/	"a tablet of yours"		
		/tvojo ap/	"your tablet"
/sol/	"salt"	/solta/	"the salt"
/žena/	"woman"	/ženata/	"the woman"
/sela/	"villages"	/selata/	"the villages"
/komšija/	"neighbour"	/komšijata/	"the neighbour" (m.)
/striko/	"uncle"	/strikoto/	"the uncle"
/kače/	"barrel"	/kačeto/	"the barrel"
/brašno/	"flour"	/brašnoto/	"the flour"
/lug'e/	"people"	/lug'eto/	"the people"
/nivje/	"fields"	/nivjeto/	"the fields"
/naše selo/	"one of our villages"		
		/našeto selo/	"our village"
/dva brak'a/	"two brothers"	/dvata brak'a/	"the two brothers"
/dve ženi/	"two women"	/dvete ženi/	"the two women"
/tri brak'a/	"three brothers"		
		/trite brak'a/	"the three brothers"
/łafoi/	"words"	/łafoite/	"the words"
/saati/	"hours"	/saatite/	"the hours"
/ženi/	"women"	/ženite/	"the women"
/stari maži/	"old men"	/starite maži/	"the old men"

4.9. THE VERBAL INFLEXIONAL SYSTEM

4.9.Ø.1. The forms of the verb may be divided into two groups: the simple and complex forms. The complex forms will be dealt with in the chapter on syntax.

The simple verb forms may express the following categories:

1. aspect: perfective and imperfective
2. tense: present, aorist and imperfect
3. mood: indicative and imperative
4. number: singular and plural
5. person: 1st, 2nd, 3rd
6. gender: masculine, feminine and neuter

However, no verb form expresses all these categories. Person and gender are mutually exclusive. The participles are formally close to adjectives, and thus express gender (in the singular) and number.

The verbal noun is included among the inflexional forms of the verb rather than under derivation because its formation is completely regular. The verbal noun is formed from any imperfective verb, but, as Groen (1977,99) points out, it does not express the category of aspect.

4.9.Ø.2. A verb form consists of a root and a number of other morphemes. The latter category includes thematic morphs (thematic vowels), suffixes and endings. The status of the thematic morph is not entirely clear. It serves – as the term suggests – to form a stem from a verbal root. It does not thus generally have a semantic value – except where it happens to express a derivational process such as transposition (cf. § 4.9.1.3 B below) – and can therefore hardly be classified as a suffix. However, the distinction between suffix and ending is also sometimes unclear, as in the formation of the aorist participle. Cf. Trubetzkoy 1934, 18–19; Groen 1977, 11Ø.

Verbs are classified on the basis of the thematic morphs (thematic vowels) of the present and aorist tenses. Verbs are cited in the form of the 3rd sg. pres.; the 3rd sg. is also used as the basic form for citing other tenses. The classification used is a follows:

A ‹a, a› i.e. thematic vowel in the present (3rd sg.) is /a/, thematic vowel of the aorist is /a/

Examples: /ruča/, aor. /ruča/ (Groen Class 1)

B1 ‹e, a›

Examples: /piše/, aor. /pisa/

On the morphonological alternation cf. § 2.5.7 above

/pee/, aor. /(is)pea/

B2 ‹e, u – e – o›

Examples: /(k'e) reče/, aor. /reku(f) reče rekoa/ (Groen Class 4)

On the morphonological alternation cf. § 2.5.1 above.

B3 <e, e>

Examples: /gore/, aor. /(iz)gore/

B4 <e, Ø>

Examples: /pije/, aor. /pi/

B5 <e, a>

Examples: /spije/, aor. /spa/

B6 <e, i>

Examples: /misle/, aor. /(za)misli/
/prae/, aor. /(na)prai/

It will be noted that A corresponds to the 3rd conjugation of traditional Bulgarian grammars ("*a*"-verbs), B1-5 correspond to the traditional 1st conjugation ("*e*"-verbs), while B6 corresponds to the traditional 2nd conjugation ("*i*"-verbs) (cf. e.g. Andrejčin 1978, 151-159).

A and B6 are extremely productive. B6 appears to be expanding and has a tendency to absorb verbs from other conjugations, e.g. /seči/ (aor., B6) besides /seče/ (B2) from /seče/.

A few verbs have anomalous alternations in their stems, thus /zeme/ has an aorist stem /ze/, corresponding to B3; the aorist participle may be /zeł/, a regular derivation from /ze/, while there is a variant aorist participle /zešoł/, which corresponds to class B2 (cf. § 4.9.2.3 below).

Some verbs are completely irregular, e.g. /e/ "to be" (cf. § 4.9.4 below).

4.9.1. ASPECT

As in all Slavonic languages, in our dialect every verb expresses one of two aspects, perfective or imperfective. Apparent exceptions are the so-called biaspectual verbs, such as: /užina/ "to take midday dinner", /ruča/ "to eat lunch", /se maže/ "to marry (said of a woman)", /se žene/ "to marry (said of a man)", thus:

/na pładnina toj užina/

may mean

(i) "He dines at midday" (i.e. every day, present tense, imperfective aspect), or

(ii) "He dined at midday" (aorist tense).

One may consider that /užina/ is a biaspectual verb, or one may speak of two homonyms, one perfective, the other imperfective. I have chosen the former interpretation. However, these cases are to be distinguished from the imperfective aorist cf. § 6.6.1 below.

4.9.1.1. If a simple (i.e., unprefixed) imperfective verb is prefixed, it becomes perfective. There may also be a change in the lexical meaning of the verb. I assume that the dialect does not differ appreciably in this respect from those Slavonic standard languages that have been dealt with in the aspectological literature, and refer the reader to such works as Maslov 1965, Ivančev 1971, Stankov 198Ø and Flier & Timberlake 1985.

It is a moot point whether a prefix adds no additional lexical meaning to the verb but simply serves to form an aspectual partner. The evidence of the present dialect is that a prefix generally modifies the lexical meaning of the verb. Historically, before the development of the category of aspect, prefixes simply modified the lexical meaning of the simplex verb. Only later did they come to fulfil the role of expressing aspect (cf. also § 6.6.1 below). Note:

/pisa/ "wrote" (aor., ipf) - /napisa/ (aor., pf) "wrote (a lot)"

/šo pisa?/ "What did you write?"

/nogu napisame!/ "We've written a lot!"

/seči lep/ "He cut [some] bread" (aor., ipf)

/a iskosi trevata/ "He cut [all] the grass" (aor., pf)

Simple imperfective verbs are here referred to as *primary imperfective verbs*. If a primary imperfective verb is prefixed and thus becomes perfective, this is a secondary perfective verb. Such a verb may, in turn, be imperfectivized by adding a suitable suffix. This is then a secondary imperfective verb. The formation of a secondary imperfective verb is evidence that the secondary perfective verb differs in its lexical meaning from the primary imperfective verb; conversely, if there is no secondary imperfective verb, this suggests that the secondary perfective verb is merely an aspectual partner of the primary verb, without any distinct lexical meaning of its own. E.g.:

/prae/ "make, do"	/naprae/ pf.	no secondary ipf.vb.
/jade/ "eat"	/izede/ pf.	no secondary ipf.vb.
/čeka/ "wait"	/prečeka/ pf.	"receive guests"
		/prečekva/ ipf.
/bere/ "pick"	/razbere/ pf.	"understand"
		/razberva/ ipf.

Note that certain prefixes typically express an *Aktionsart*; there may be no secondary imperfective verb:

inchoative *Aktionsart*

/igra/ "play, dance"	/zaigra/ "start playing, dancing"
/poste/ "fast"	/zaposte/ "start fasting"
/pee/ "sing; read"	/zapee/ "start singing, reading"

diminutive or attenuative *Aktionsart*

/se łafe/ "chat" /se połafe/ "have a little chat"

The suffix <+n–> may express the semelfactive *Aktionsart*:

/vika/	"shout"	/vikne/	"cry out"

4.9.1.2. Perfectivization

A. Prefixation

1. Prefix <iz=>

/pərže/	"fry"	/ispərže/
/lupa/	"peel"	/izlupa/
/pərska/	"spray"	/ispərska/
/kifa/	"cough"	/iskifa/
/mije/	"wash"	/izmije/
/jade/	"eat"	/izede/
/peče/	"bake"	/ispeče/
/laže/	"deceive"	/izlaže/
/se moča/	"piss"	/se izmoča/

2. Prefix <na=>

/pəlne/	"fill"	/napəlne/

3. Prefix <od=>

/pee/	"read; sing"	/otpee/

4. Prefix <po=>

/raste/	"grow"	/poraste/
/bara/	"ask for"	/pobara/

In the following example, the prefix conveys a diminutive or attenuative nuance to the derived perfective verb:

/se łafe/	"chat"	/se połafe/

5. Prefix <pre=>

/suče/	"roll out (pastry)"	/presuče/

6. Prefix <pro=>

/šeta/	"stroll"	/prošeta/

7. Prefix <s=>

/tople/	"warm"	/stople/
/vare/	"boil"	/svare/ (also irregular /zovre/)
/kərše/	"break"	/skərše/

8. Prefix <za=>

/pale/	"light"	/zapale/

In the following example, the derived perfective is of the inchoative *Aktionsart*:

/igra/ "play, dance" /zaigra/ "start playing, dancing"
/poste/ "fast" /zaposte/ "start fasting"

In the following example, the prefix conveys a diminutive nuance to the derived perfective verb:

9. Prefix <pod=>

/pərže/	"fry"	/potpərže/

In some cases prefixation is accompanied by an irregular alternation or irregular change of flexion-class:

/ode/	"go"	/otide/ *pf.*[1]

B. Suffixation

The only suffix that perfectivizes is <+n->. The resulting perfective verbs are of Class B1.

/ropa/	"knock, make a noise"	/ropne/
/kəsa/	"bite"	/kəsne/
/ščipa/	"pinch"	/ščipne/
/vika/	"shout, call"	/vikne/

---

[1] As Groen notes (1977,1Ø6), the form of the prefix in /otide/ is also anomalous in a synchronic sense.

4.9.1.3. Imperfectivization

Imperfectivization may be carried out by transposition from one verb class to another or by suffixation.

A. Suffixation

The suffix <+v> may be used to imperfectivize any perfective verb (but cf. § 4.9.1.1 above). If the stem of the derivant verb ends in two consonants, the suffix takes the form /uv/. The derived verbs belong to Class A, irrespective of the class of the derivant verb.

Examples:

/uzdree/	"ripen"	/uzdreva/
/zaborae/	"forget"	/zaborava/
/se zabae/	"take a long time"	/se zabava/
/dobije/	"receive, get"	/dobiva/
<do=bi-e->	Cf. § 2.2.9 above	
/se rasipe/	"go bad"	/se rasipva/
/stane/	"get up"	/stanva/
/pomože/	"help"	/pomožva/
/vide/	"see"	/vidva/
/płate/	"pay"	/płatva/
/narača/	"order"	/naračva/
/omekne/	"soften"	/omeknuva/
/se pričeste/	"take communion"	/se pričestuva/
/se sopne/	"trip over"	/se sopnuva/

The formations /dava/, /kłava/, /zeva/ and /kreva/ from /dade/, /kłade/, /zeme/ and /krene/ are irregular inasmuch as the final consonant of the stem is deleted. In /izlegva/ from /izleze/ we have an irregular alternation /k/ ~ /g/ (cf. § 2.5.5 above).

B. Transposition

A change of conjugational class (transposition) may also express a change of aspect:

/pušče/ *pf.*	"send"	/pušča/ *ipf.*

/fərle/ *pf.* "throw" /fərla/ *ipf.*

4.9.1.4. Suppletion

Sometimes the members of an aspectual pair are formed from different roots:

/grede/	"come"	*ipf.*	/dojde/	*pf.*
/vele/	"say"	*ipf.*	/reče/	*pf.*

4.9.2. INFLEXIONAL CATEGORIES

4.9.2.1. Present Tense

The dialect of Gorno Kalenik has only two distinct classes in the present tense, corresponding to the traditional *e*- and *i*-conjugations on the one hand and to the traditional *a*-conjugation on the other.

Examples:

A

/stigam	stigame
stigaš	stigate
stiga	stigaa, stigat/

B

/misla	misleme	mija <mi-a-Ø>	mijeme <mi-e-me>
mišliš	misletė	miiš	mijete <mi-e-te>
misle	mislat	mije <mi-e-Ø>	mijat/ <mi-a-t>
		(Cf. § 2.2.9 above)	

The exponent of the third person singular present tense enables the verb to be classified as belonging to one or other conjugation, and is thus used as the citation form in this book.

The thematic morphs and the endings of the present tense are summarized in the following table.

	1st sg	2nd sg	3rd sg	1st & 2nd pl	3rd pl
	morph/ ending	morph/ ending	morph/ ending	morph/ ending	morph/ ending
A	-a	-m	-a -š	-a -ø	-a -me & -te	-a	-a, -t
B	-a	-ø	-i	-e	-e	-a	-t

In conjugation B the desinence <-ø> of the 1st person sg. is in free variation with <-m>. The latter appears to be especially characteristic of younger speakers, although it was observed already by Giannelli & Vaillant 1958, 62, who suspect that it spread from the central dialects via forms such as *lúbam, mólam* in folksongs. Cf. also Mazon 1923, 44:

> "le développement secondaire de *-m* se constate assez souvent, il est vrai, surtout dans le langage des jeunes (*kážam, pásam, péčam, k'e fátam*, etc.), mais il paraît dû à l'influence des parlers voisins (...)"

Cf. also /dam/ & /dada/, /kłam & /kłada/, /pram/ & /praa/.

The ending /-t/ in 3rd pl of A appears also to be due to the influence of neighbouring dialects (cf. § 1.4 above).

On stress in the present tense cf. § 3.1.4.1 above.

4.9.2.2. Aorist

There are the following types of aorist:

a-aorist /spije/ <spi-e-> "sleep"

/spaf	spame
spa	spate
spa	spaja, spaa/

/izbega/ "run away; leave"

/izbegaf	izbegame
izbega	izbegate

izbega izbegaja, izbegaa/

e/o-aorist /jade/ "eat"

/jadu(f)	jadome
jade	jadote
jade	jadoa/

i-aorist /kače/ "raise, take up"

/kačif	kačime
kači	kačite
kači	kačija/ <kač-i-a>

Ø-aorist /se napija/ <na=pi-a> "drink up"

/se napif	se napime
se napi	se napite
se napi	se napija/

e-aorist /izgore/ "burn out"

/izgoref	izgoreme
izgore	izgorete
izgore	izgorea/

It will be noted that the 2nd and 3rd sg are not distinguished morphologically; sometimes the 1st sg assumes the same form. It will be noted further that the 3rd sg pres. and aor. are not distinguished in A, B2 and B3.

The following table summarizes thematic morphs and endings in the aorist:

	1st sg		2nd, 3rd sg		pl	
	morph	ending	morph	ending	morph	ending
A	-a		-a		-a	
B1	-a		-a		-a	
B2	-u		-e		-o	
B3	-e	-f[1]	-e	-Ø	-e	-me/-te/-a
B4	-Ø		-Ø		-Ø	
B5	-a		-a		-a	
B6	-i		-i		-i	

In the 3rd pl. of the *a*-aorist, i.e. in A, B1 and B5, /j/ may occur between the morph and the ending as a hiatus-breaker. Further, /j/ occurs between /i/ and /a/ (cf. § 2.4.11 above).

Note the allegro forms /dau/, /dae, daj/, /izvau/, /izvae, izvaj/ und /kłau/, /kłae, kłaj/ corresponding to /dae/ (/dade/), /izvae/ (/izvade/) and /kłaa/ (/kłada/). Cf. also § 2.2.5 above, § 4.9.5 below.

4.9.2.3. Aorist Participle

The aorist participle is formed by adding <l>, which may be classified as a suffix or as an ending (cf. § 4.9.Ø.2 above), to the aorist stem (on B2 see below). The aorist participle has the morphological characteristics of an adjective, distinguishing m.sg. <Ø>, f.sg. <a>, n.sg. <o> and pl. <e>. Note that the plural marker is <e>, not <i> as in adjectives. The thematic morph is the same as in the 1st sg. aor., except in B2.

In B2 the thematic morph is <o>, which alternates with zero in f.sg., n.sg. and pl. Verbs of this class with stem in <d> change this to <š> in the aorist participle:

/reče/	"say"	/rekoł	rekła	rekło	rekle/
/otide/	"leave"	/otišoł	otišła	otišło	otišle/
/vide/	"see"	/višoł	višła	višło	višle/
/dašoł/	"give"	/dašoł	dašła	dašło	dašle/

---

[1] In B2, the ending <-f> may be replaced by <Ø>. It will be noted that this does not lead to homonymy with the 2nd and 3rd sg.

The aorist participles corresponding to /ojde/ B2 "he went", /dojde/ B2 "he came", from /ode/ "go", /dojde/ "come", are /ošoł/, /došoł/.

The verb /zeme/ has the aorist participle /zešoł zešła/ besides /zeł/ (cf. § 4.9.Ø.2 above).

4.9.2.4. Imperfect and Imperfect Participle

The thematic morph of A is <a>, in all other classes <e>. The desinences are: <–>, 2nd & 3rd sg. <–še>, 1st pl. <–me>, 2nd pl. <–te>, 3rd pl. <–a>. In A /j/ occurs as a hiatus–breaker between the thematic morph and the ending in the 3rd pl. in the speech of those speakers that have the desinence <–a> in the 3rd pl. pres. (cf. § 4.9.2.1 above).

The imperfect participle is formed with the desinences of the aorist participle from the imperfect stem.

4.9.2.5. Past Participle Passive

The thematic morph: A <a> B1 <a> B2 <e> B3 <e> B4 <e> B5 <a> B6 <e>. The desinence is <–t> when the stem of the verb ends in <n>, otherwise <–n>. This participle distinguishes gender and number by adding the adjectival endings <–Ø –a –o –i>.

4.9.2.6. Imperative

	singular		plural	
	morph	ending	morph	ending
A	a	j	a	jte
B1–3, B6	i	Ø	e	te
B4–5	Ø	Ø	e	te

Note the allegro forms /kłaj kłajte/ "put", /daj dajte/ "give", /oj ojte/ "go", /izvaj izvajte/ "take out" corresponding to the theoretical full forms <kład–i, kład–e–te; dad–i, dad–e–te; od–i, od–e–te; izvad–i, izvad–e–te> (cf. § 2.2.5 and § 3.1.4.2 above, § 4.9.5 below). The verb /dojda/ has the suppletive imperative /eła ełte/.

4.9.2.7. Verbal Noun (*nomen actionis*)

The thematic vowel of A & B5 is <a>, otherwise it is <e>. The desinence is <n'e> (but cf. § 2.2.1Ø above). The verbal noun is formed only from imperfective verbs.

4.9.3. Paradigms

A

PRES	AOR	IMPF
ručam	ručaf	ručaf
ručaš	ruča	ručaše
ruča	ruča	ručaše
ručame[1]	ručame	ručame
ručate	ručate	ručate
ručaa, ručat	ručaja, ručaa	ručaja, ručaa
	AOR. PART.	IMPF. PART.
	ručał	ručał
IMPER	PPP	VERBAL NOUN
ručaj ručajte	ručan	ručan'e

B1

PRES	AOR	IMPF
piša	pisaf	pišef
pišiš	pisa	pišeše
piše	pisa	pišeše
pišeme	pisame	pišeme
pišete	pisate	pišete
pišat	pisaja, pisaa	pišea
	AOR. PART.	IMPF. PART.

---

[1] On stress cf. § 3.1.4.1 above.

	pisał	pišeł
IMPER	PPP	VERBAL NOUN
piši pišete	pisan	pišen'e

B2

PRES	AOR	IMPF
reča[1]	reku(f)	rečef[2]
rečiš	reče	rečeše
reče	reče	rečeše
rečeme	rečeme	rečeme
rečete	rečete	rečete
rečat	rekoa	rečea
	AOR. PART.	IMPF. PART.
	rekoł	rečeł
IMPER	PPP	VERBAL NOUN
reči rečete	rečen	(jaden'e)

B3

PRES	AOR	IMPF
gora	izgoref	goref
goriš	izgore	goreše
gore	izgore	goreše
goreme	izgoreme	goreme
gorete	izgorete	gorete
gorat	izgorea	gorea
	AOR. PART.	IMPF. PART.
	izgoreł	goreł

---

[1] Since /reče/ is pf., these forms can only occur with the particle /k'e/ (cf. § 6.5.3 below) or in dependent clauses.

[2] Cf. preceding footnote.

IMPER	PPP	VERBAŁ NOUN
gori gorete	izgoren	goren'e

B4

PRES	AOR	IMPF
pija <pi-a>	pif	pijef <pi-e-f>
piiš	pi	piješe
pije <pi-e>	pi	piješe
pijeme	pime	pijeme
pijete	pite	pijete
pijat	pija	pijea
	AOR. PART.	IMPF. PART.
	pił	pijeł

IMPER	PPP	VERBAL NOUN
pi pijete	pijen	pijen'e

B5

PRES	AOR	IMPF
spija <spi-a>	spaf	spijef <spi-e-f>
spiiš	spa	spiješe
spije <spi-e>	spa	spiješe
spijeme	spame	spijeme
spijete	spate	spijete
spijat	spaja, spaa	spijea
	AOR. PART.	IMPF. PART.
	spał	spijeł

IMPER	PPP	VERBAL NOUN
spi spijete	span	span'e

B6

PRES	AOR	IMPF
misla	smislif	mislef
misliš	smisli	misleše
misle	smisli	misleše
misleme	smislime	misleme
mislete	smislite	mislete
mislat	smislija	mislea
	<smisli-a>	
	AOR. PART.	IMPF. PART.
	smislił	misleł
IMPER	PPP	VERBAL NOUN
misli mislete	smislen	mislen'e

PRES	AOR	IMPF
praa	napraif	praef
praiš	naprai	praeše
prae	naprai	praeše
praeme	napraime	praeme
praete	napraite	praete
praat	napraija	praea
	<naprai-a>	
	AOR. PART.	IMPF. PART.
	napraił	praeł
IMPER	PPP	VERBAL NOUN
prai praete	napraen	praen'e

4.9.4. The Verb *"to be"*

PRES	AOR	IMPF
su, sum	-	bef
si		beše
e, je, ije		beše
sne, sme		beme
ste		bete
se		bea
	AOR. PART.	IMPF. PART.
	-	bił
IMPER	PPP	VERBAL NOUN
bidi bidete	biden	-

The variant form of the 3rd sg. pres. /je/ appears to be in free variation with /e/, although there is some evidence that it occurs more frequently after a word ending in a consonant. There is also an emphatic variant /ije/.

The ppp is used in the "Romance Perfect" /imam bideno/ "I have been" (cf. § 6.5.2 below).

There is a dependent present tense (used in conjunction with the future particle /k'e/ to form the future tense):

/bida bidiš bide bideme bidete bidat/

4.9.5. We note here the allegro forms of the verbs /ode/, /dade/ and /dojde/. The verbs /kłade/ and /izvade/ have allegro forms corresponding to those of /dade/.

PRES	IMPER	AOR
-		-
oiš, ojš	oi, oj	oe, oj
oe, oj		oe, oj
oeme, ojme		-
oete, ojte	oite, ojte	-
-		-

PRES	IMPER	AOR
daa		dau
daiš, dajš	dai, daj	dae, daj
dae, daj		dae, daj
daeme, dajme		–
daete, dajte	daite, dajte	–
daat		–

PRES	IMPER	AOR
doa		–
doiš, dojš	ełа	doe, doj
doe, doj		doe, doj
doeme, dojme		–
doete, dojte	ełte	–
doat		–

5. DERIVATION

5. I shall here deal with a small part of derivation, the suffixal denominal derivation of nouns, since an exhaustive treatment of the subject would require a special study (cf. Tetovska-Troeva 1988b; cf. also Božkov 1972). The derivation of aspectual partners has been dealt with under § 4.9.1 above. The *nomina actionis* are considered to be an inflectional category, cf. § 4.9.2.7 above.

5.1. DIMINUTIVES

Diminutive suffixes convey the notion of smallness or daintiness. The pragmatic force of such forms may be positive (endearment, cf. also § 5.2 below) or negative and can be rendered only inadequately in English, hence glosses are not generally offered.

Suffixes are often linked to particular endings. In such cases we indicate the ending after the suffix, thus: ⟨+ic-a⟩. A suffix may also be materially zero while causing palatalization of velars or dentals, cf. § 2.5.1-2 above): this is indicated by *.

All these suffixes, except ⟨+s⟩, are very productive.

5.1.1. ⟨+č-e⟩

/g'umče/ dim. of /g'um/ nm "kettle"
/ask'erče/ "little soldier"
/kanatče/ dim. of /kanata/ nf "jug"
/kvašče/ Cf. § 2.3.3
/orišče/ Cf. § 2.3.3
/głafče/ Cf. § 2.5.4
/kamče/ Cf. § 2.4.4. and 2.5.9
/čeniče/ dim. of /čenica/ nf "wheat" Cf. § 2.4.8
/fełče/ ⟨feł+č-e⟩ dim. of /fełka/ nf "slice [e.g. watermelon]"

The last two examples could also be interpreted differently as ⟨čenic+Ø*-e⟩, ⟨fełk+Ø*-e⟩ as in following §.

5.1.2. ⟨+Ø*-e⟩

/nože/ dim. of /noš nožo/ "knife"
/pare/ "coin"
/čele/ dim. of /čeł/ "shoe"
/muce/ dim. of /mucka/ "mouth"

/oče/ dim. of /oko/ "eye" Cf. § 2.5.1
/kołače/ "bun" Cf. § 2.5.1
/čureče/ Cf. § 2.5.1
/kniže/ "piece of paper", dim. of /kniga/ nf.c & nc "paper; letter"
/paeže/ < /paek/ nm /paezi/ pl "spider" Cf. § 2.5.1, 2.5.5.
/meše/ "tummy" Cf. § 2.5.3

In the following example, there is an anomalous stem variation:

/bałtiče/ dim. of /bałtak/ nm "axe"/

5.1.3. <+s-e>

Only one example:

/mlekse/ dim. of /mleko/ nn "milk"

5.1.4. <+ic-a>

/iglica/

5.1.5. <+enc-e>

This suffix is used only with neuter nouns.

/brašnence/
/detence/
/pərlence/
/maslence/

5.1.6. <+k-a>

/godink'a/

5.1.7. <+ičk-a>[1]

/manžička/ dim. of /manža/ nf "stew, meal"
/paričk'i/ *plt* "money"

---

[1] actually a combination of suffixes <ic(a)> and <k(a)>, i.e. <+ic+k-a>

5.2. TERMS OF ENDEARMENT (WITH TRUNCATION, UNPRODUCTIVE)

/bažo/ <baž+Ø-o> < /bažanak/, cf. <ded-o>, <strik-o>
/bračko/ <brač+k-o> < /bračet/

5.3. *NOMINA ACTORIS*[1]

5.3.1. <+ar>; very productive

/čełar/ nm "cobbler"
/mlekar/ nm "milk collector"
/gajdar/ nm "bagpipe-player"
/lebar/ nm "baker"
/łopkar/ nm "footballer"
/zil'ar/ nm "envious person"

Two examples show <c> --> /č/ (cf. § 2.5.2 above):

/ofčar/ nm "shepherd"
/vodeničar/ nm "miller"

5.3.2. <+nik>

/armasnik/ nm "fiancé"
/strojnik/ nm "matchmaker"
/versnik/ nm "person of same age, coeval"
/rabotnik/ nm "workman"

The last word may have been adopted from some other source rather than derived in the dialect. Tetovska-Troeva (1988a, 190) considers it to be a deverbal *nomen agentis*.

5.3.3. Turkish suffix <+ži-a>; very productive

/duk'anžija/ nm "shopkeeper"
/łovžija/ nm "hunter" < /łof/ "hunting"
/łafenžija/ nm "chatterbox" < /łaf/ nm "word; language"

---

[1] cf. Tetovska-Troeva 1988a

The latter derivation presents certain difficulties: <en> must be interpreted as an extention of the stem <łaf+en->; however, this might also be a deverbal derivation from /łafe/ ipf(rfl) "talk, have a chat".

5.4. NOUNS DENOTING PEOPLE BY PLACE OF ORIGIN *(NOMINA GENTILIA ET ETHNICA)*

5.4.1. <+ec>

/lerinec/ nm	"person from Lerin" Cf. § 4.3.3.1.9
/čužinec/ nm	"stranger; foreigner" < /čužina/
/pəpəžanec/ nm	"person from Pəpəžani"

There is a back-formation with deletion of the formative <an> in the variant form /pəpəšec/. The change */pəpəžec/ -> /pəpəšec/ is, in turn, apparently due to back-formation from the feminine /pəpəška/. Cf. § 2.3.1, 2.5.3 above

/mak'edonec/ nm	"Macedonian"
/g'ermanec/ nm	"German"

Cf. also § 5.4.3 below.

5.4.2. <+anec>[1]

/kaleničanec/ nm	"person from Kalenik"

5.4.3. <+in>

Nouns denoting nationalities are undoubtedly older than the names of the respective countries, but can be considered sychronically to be derived from the latter.

/bugarin/ nm	/bugari/ pl	/bugarka/ f	"Bulgarian"
	/bugárija/ nf. "Bulgaria"		
/turčin/ nm	/turci/ pl	/turčinka/ f	"Turk"
	/túrcija/ nf	"Turkey"	

---

[1] This is actually a compound suffix with 2 formatives, <an> and <ec>.

/sərbin/ nm /sərbi/ pl /sərbinka/ f "Serb"
/sérbija/ nf "Serbia, Yugoslavia"

Cf. also

/mak'edonec/ - /mak'edonija/, /g'ermanec/ - /g'ermanija/ (§ 5.4.1 above).

5.5. NOUNS DENOTING PEOPLE BY A QUALITY (*NOMINA ATTRIBUTIVA*):

<+ec>

/svetec/ nm	"saint"	<	/svet/	"holy, Saint"
/golemec/ nm	"VIP"	<	/golem/	"great"

<+ač>

The suffix <ač> is normally used to form deverbal *nomina agentis*, which are not examined here; however, there is one clearly denominal derivation:

/repač/ nm "blockhead" (term of abuse)
< /repa/ "beet"

5.6. FEMININE FORMS

5.6.1. <+k-a>; very productive

/prijatelka/ nf	"friend"
/fudułka/ nf	"vain person; haughty person"
/dušmanka/ nf	"enemy"
/kaług'erka/ nf	"nun"
/pitačka/ nf	"beggar"
/ing'iliska/ nf	"Englishwoman"
/akčika/ nf	"cook, caterer" < /akčija/ nm <ak+či-a> Cf. § 2.2.9 above
/batakčika/ nf	"lazybones"
/łafenǯika/ nf	"chatterbox"

The lexeme /mačka/ "cat" is formally derived from an abstract stem *<mač> cf. /mače/ dim "kitten" /mačor/ nm "tom-cat".

Masculine *nomina gentilia* and *nomina ethnica* with the suffixes <ec> or <in> usually drop these before adding <k> to the stem (cf. § 5.6.3 below):

/kaleničanec/ nm	/kaleničanka/ f	"person from Kalenik"
/mak'edonec/ nm	/mak'edonka/ f	"Macedonian"
/g'ermanec/ nm	/g'ermanka/ f	"German"
/g'uptin/ nm	/g'upka/ f	"gypsy" Cf. § 2.4.5
/bugarin/ nm	/bugarka/ f	"Bulgarian"
/endopin/ nm	/endopka/ f	"indigene, i.e. Macedonian"

but cf.

/turčin/ nm	/turčinka/ f	"Turk"
/sərbin/ nm	/sərbinka/ f	"Serb"

Suffixless masculine forms extend the stem by adding <in> before <k>:

/gərk/ nm	/gərk'inka/ f	"Greek"
/vłaf/ nm	/vłainka/ f	"Vlach" Cf. § 2.5.4 above

5.6.2. Transposition

Masculine *nomina actoris* in <+nik> (cf. § 5.3.2 above) form the feminine by adding <−a>. This could also be interpreted as <+Ø−a>.

/armasnika/ nf	"fiancée"
/lubovnika/ nf	"sweetheart; lover"
/vərsnika/ nf	"person of same age, coeval"

/budała/, actually an epicene noun, has been reinterpreted as a feminine form of the back-formation /budał/, cf. § 4.3.2.4 above.

5.6.3. <+ic−a>

/carica/ nf "queen"

Nouns other than nomina gentilia and nomina ethnica drop <ec> before adding <ic>:

/junec/ nm "bull" /junica/ f "heifer"
/doec/ nm "widower" /doica/ f "widow"

The suffix <ic-a> is added to a married man's given name to form the colloquial given name for his wife:

/risto/ "Risto" /ristoica/ "Risto's wife"
/pandil/ "Pandil" /pandilica/ "Pandil's wife"
Cf. § 3.5 above

5.7. *NOMINA LOCI*

5.7.1. <+n-a>

/lebarna/ nf "bakery" < /lebar/ nm "baker"

5.7.2. <+arnik>

/kokošarnik/ nm "chicken coop" < /kokoška/ "chicken"

5.7.3. <+išč-e>

/ognišče/ nn "hearth" < /ogan ogno/ "fire"

5.7.4. <+in-a>

/čužina/ nf "foreign parts"

5.8. DEADJECTIVAL ABSTRACT NOUNS
(NOMINA QUALITATIS)

5.8.1. <+ot-a>

/čistota/ nf "cleanness, cleanliness"
/lesnota/ nf "relief"

5.8.2. <+oti-a>

/ličotija/ nf "beauty" < <lič+en> /ličen lična/ adj "beautiful"

5.8.3. <+in-a>

/pravina/ nf "truth"

5.9. COLLECTIVE NOUNS

The Turkish suffix <łak>, <łuk>, <łok> occurs with different vowels reflecting the vowel harmony characteristic of Uralian and Altaic languages. The distribution of the variants appears, however, to be random in our dialect. The suffix is used to form collective nouns:

/komšiłuk/ nm "neighbourhood, neighbours"
/čifčiłók/ nm "agricultural cooperative"

5.1Ø. NOUNS DENOTING AN ACTIVITY

The suffix <łak>, <łuk>, <łok> also forms nouns denoting an activity:

/majstorłuk/ nm "trade"
/oračłók/ nm "agriculture"

5.11. NOUNS DENOTING CONCRETE OBJECTS (*NOMINA CONCRETA*)

5.11.1. <+nik>

/gušnik/nm "necklace" < /guša/ nf "neck"
/ogłamnik/ nm "halter" < /głaa/ nf. "head"

This is not a productive suffix and both words may have been adopted from some other source, cf. § 5.3.2 above.

/maznik/ nm "unleavened cheese pastry"

This word is derived from /mazь/, today /mas/; due to the phonological change, the derivation has become opaque.

5.11.2. <+in-a>

/k'iselina/ nf "vinegar" < /k'iseł/ adj "sour"

There is a variant form /k'eselina/ which is derivationally opaque.

/paežina/ nf "cobweb; cataract [on eye]"
< /paek/ nm /paeʒi/ pl "spider"
Cf. § 2.5.1, 2.5.5, 5.1.2

5.11.3. <+ec>

/k'iselec/ nm "sorrel" < /k'iseł/ adj "sour"

5.11.4. <+ic-a>

There are a large number of more or less opaque derivations with the suffixes <ic-a> and <nic-a>:

/bradaica/ nf "wart"
/petica/ nf "heel"
/stapica/ nf "mouse-trap"
/vodenica/ nf "mill"
/košnica/ nf "shopping-basket"

5.11.5. Turkish suffix <+łak>, <+łuk>, <+łok>

/cigarłak, -łuk/ nm "cigarette-holder"

6. NOTES ON SYNTAX

6. This chapter deals in a very summary way with the synsemantic parts of speech, which are non-inflecting (cf. § 4 above). These are:

1. prepositions (the noun phrase)
2. conjunctions (the complex sentence)
3. particles
4. interjections

I also deal with

5. complex forms of the verb
6. uses of moods and tenses

6.1. PREPOSITIONS (THE NOUN PHRASE)

The classification of prepositions largely follows Hendriks 1976, 193 et seqq. and Groen 1977, 186 et seqq.

6.1.1. /bez/ "without"

/dojde bez neo/ "She came without him"
/ne moža bes šamija/ "I couldn't (go out) without a scarf"
/sedum bes čerek/ "a quarter to 7", "6.45"
/bés_kəsmet/ "out of luck"
/bez gajle/ "no worries"

6.1.2. /do/

temporal

/k'e dojde do nédela/ "He'll be here by Sunday"
/do dva saato/ "by 2 o'clock"
/od velen'e do praen'e ima nogu/
"There's many a slip twixt the cup and the lip"

local

/imat kuk'a do moreto/"They have a house by the seaside"

6.1.3. /duri, dur/$_1$ "as far as, up to"

6.1.4. /kaj/ "at; around; near"

local

/kaj cola/ "at Cola's; near Cola's"
/kaj moreto/ "at the seaside, beside the sea"
/treba da oiš kaj dokturo/
"You must go to the doctor"

temporal

/kaj sedum saato/ "around 7 o'clock"

6.1.5. /kərs/ <kərz> "across, around"

/kərs sełoto/ "around the village"
/kərz grado/ "around the town"
/kərz grobiščata/ "across the cemetery"

6.1.6. /meg'u/ "between"

/meg'u dvajca da sedna/
"sit between two people"
/meg'u dvata isto je/ "Between the two there's no difference"

6.1.7. /na/ı

possessive genitive

/kuk'ata na tatko mi/, /na tatko mi kuk'a/
"my father's house"
/kuk'ata e na tatko mi/
"The house is my father's"

indirect object

/mu a dadu kapata na sin mu/
"I gave the cap to his son"

temporal

/na petok/ "on Friday" Cf. /vu petoko/ below
/na koj saat k'e dojde?/
"At what time is he coming?"

/na pet saato/ "at 5 o'clock"
/na avgus/ "in August"
/na dek'emvri otidoa, si dojdoa na mart/
"They left in December, in March they came back"
/na dvajse i eden maj/"on 21st May"
/k'e doeme na filan večer/
"We'll come on such and such an evening"
/na večerta sənceto zajduva/
"The sun sets in the evening"
/na starite godin'e/ "in the old days"

manner

/na staro(to)/ "in the old style", "according to the old calendar" (cf. /po staro/)
/na ninoto napraija/ "They changed everything their way (to suit themselves)"
/ná_łamba rabotaja/ "They worked by (the light of a) lamp"

final

/na zdravje ručoko/ "Enjoy your lunch!"
/ná_počifka/ "for a holiday"
/ná_seir/ "to have a look"
/mi grede na kafe/ "She is coming for coffee"
/parea za ná_kafe/ "company for coffee"

local & metaphorical[1]

/na masata nema niščo/"There is nothing on the table"
/vu top da i kładiš i na mesečinata da i buniš/
"(We ought to) put them into a canon and shoot them onto the moon"
/na moreto/ "at (to) the seaside, beside the sea"
/na čužina/ "abroad"
/na seło/ "in the village", "in the country"
/ná_voda/ "to (at) the fountain"
/odeme ná_cərkva/ "We go to church"

---

[1] often difficult to distinguish from former category

/se godeme za ná_cərkva/
"We get ready for church"
/na prikata sae ženi se berat/
"Only women come to see the dowry"
/koj odeše na doktur pati/
"Whoever went to the doctor? No-one!"
/oda na popo/ "I go to the priest (for confession)"
/na furkata/ "on the spindle", "with a spindle"
/mi fərli na finǯalo/ "She read my cup" (i.e. turned it over and read my fortune in the coffee-grounds)
/za na ime beme/ "We were there for his nameday"
/na ime se dava/ "It's given as a name-day present"
/na goreščina traja/ "He held out in the heat"
/ne traat na studnoto/
"They can't take the cold"
/na bojo/ "during the war"
/na staros/ "in one's old age"
/izleze na toj soj/ "He took after that family"
/tərgat na gərcko/ "They are Graecophiles"
/na stoto dvajse/, /dvajse na stoto/
"2Ø%"

as the object of certain verbs

/səti na edno ne možeme da misleme/
"We can't all think of one thing", "We can't all think alike"

6.1.8. /nat/ <nad>

/fərli pare nat kuk'ata/"He threw a coin over the house"

6.1.9. /nastrede/ "in the middle"

temporal

/nastrede venčan'e/ "in the middle of the wedding"

6.1.10. /nis/ <niz> "down, around, about, among"

local

/nis kuk'ite sedea ask'eri/
"There were soldiers down among the houses"
/tikvi k'e kłavaja nis čenkata, nis patatite/
"They would plant pumpkins in amongst the sweetcorn, the potatoes"

6.1.11. /ot/ <od>

local "from"

/čoek ot fráncija/ "a man from France"
/dojde od lerin/ "He arrived from Lerin"
/ót_seło vú_seło/ "from one village to another"
/ne znaeše tesła od dea se fatva/
"He didn't know what end to grab an adze by"

source

/ze kniga od majka mu/"He got a letter from his mother"
/fnuk ot sestra/ "nephew"
/fnuk ot fnuk/ "grandson"
/meso od jagne/ "mutton, meat from a lamb"

material

/masa od dərvo/ "table made of wood"
/od brašno se prae/ "It's made from flour"
/od vəłna tkaeni/ "woven from wool"

cause

/mu e stra od vəcite/ "He is afraid of wolves"
/k'e pukne od inat/ "He is going to explode from frustration"
/kapnat od rabota/ "broken (crippled) from (too much) work"

temporal

/ot pandełnik/ "from Monday"
/ot koa sne tuka/ "since we arrived"
/od velen'e do praen'e ima nogu/
"There's many a slip twixt the cup and the lip"
/da si a gode užinata ót_sabajle, ód_večer da si godiš/
"She should prepare dinner early, prepare the night before"

attributive

/ima od dve, ot tri, ot čétiri il'adi/
"They have ones for 2000 [Drs], for 3000, for 4000"

comparative

/jas su nogu pogolem ot tebe/
"I am much older than you"

to express the object of certain verbs

/nogu se faleše od afstrálija/
"He was full of praise for Australia"
/ne razberva od niščo/ (or simply /niščo/)
"He doesn't understand a thing!"
/ne razberva od arno ili od łošo/
"He can't tell good from bad"

6.1.12. /po/ "after; according to; along";

temporal "after"

/po božik/ "after Christmas"
/po ručok/ "after lunch", "p.m."
/po płádnina/ "in the afternoon", "p.m."
/po venčan'e/ "after being married"
/pó_tebe/ "after you"
/po mlekaro/ "after the milkman (has been)"
/po dveste godini nije k'e se storeme lug'e/
"We will be (civilized) people in 200 years' time"

final

/po cigari bef/ "I went to get cigarettes"

local

/o čuknaf po głaata/ "I hit him on the head"
/odea so pampuri pó_more/
"They used to go [to Australia] by sea in ships"
/ode po rekata/ "He walks along the river"
/rabota po sełata/ "He works around the villages"
/odeše po cərkvite da psałva, da čine/
"He did the rounds of the churches, working as a cantor and doing this and that"

manner (various idiomatic uses)

/po janglaš/, /po greška/
"by mistake"
/po staro/ "in the old style", "according to the old calendar" (cf. /na staro(to)/)
/po žeško šeta/ "He walks around in the hot sun (in the heat of the day)"

distributive

/dadome po dvajse liri/
"we gave £2Ø each"

6.1.13. /pot/ <pod> "under"

/pod vodata/ "under the water"
/pód_zemja/ "underground"
/pód_vang'ele k'e odiš/ "go and kneel under the Bible (while the priest reads the lesson)"

various idiomatic uses

/pot kirija/ "rented, for rent"

/šom ne e pot płano, ne k'e ti daat/
"If it's not planned, they won't give you it [a permit]"

6.1.14. /pret <pred>/ "in front of; before"

local

/češa préd_neo/ "with a glass in front of him"

temporal

/pred božik/ "before Christmas"
/pret płádnina/ "a.m.", "in the morning"
/pret snego/ "before the snow (came)"
/pred eden den/ "one day beforehand", "one day ago"

Cf. /pred da/ conj "before"

6.1.15. /preku/ "across, through, via"

/preku rekata/ "across (through) the river"
/preku lerin/ "via Lerin"

6.1.16. /protíf/ "against"

/protíf ni ode/ "It goes against them (against their interests)"

6.1.17. /so/, /su/ "with"

sociative

/so pandil otide/ "He left with Pandil"
/brat so brat otepani/"Brother and brother killed", "Brothers killed together"

concomitant

/si legnaf so kokošk'ite/
"I went to bed with the chickens" (i.e., at the same time as the chickens)

instrumental

/o točea bričo so remče/
"They used to sharpen the razor with a little strap (strop)"
/so słama gotvef/ "I used to cook with straw (i.e., I burned straw to heat up the stove)"
/so raka prašeme/ "We hoe by hand"
/so rałoto praeme trapje, so płužica sademe/
"We made rows with the wooden plough, we used the steel plough to sow"
/so noʒite odeme/ "We go on foot"
/mere so okoto/ "to measure by sight (with the eye)"
/se rani so kursata/ "He had an accident (was injured) with his car"
/odea so pampuri pó_more/
"They used to go [to Australia] by sea in ships"
/boj praea so kamen'a/ "They fought with stones"
/so matikata k'e ti a seča głaata/
"I'll cut your head off with the hoe"

There are examples in which instrumental /so/ is omitted:

/košo o pəłneme słama/"We fill the basket with straw"

measure

/k'e o merisz so kuteło/
"You measure it by the bushel"
/so oka se prodavaše/"It was sold by the /oka/"

manner

/narodo živeše so stra togaj/
"People lived in fear in those days"
/so radosi/ "joyfully"
/so kołaj da rabotaa/ "so that they may work with (in) ease"
Cf. /so rajat/
/so zort/ "with great difficulty", "with a great effort"
/so rajat/ "at a gentle pace", "taking it easy"
/so ret neka bide/ "First things first"

/mu davaš so siła/ "You force it on him"
/so sakan'e/ "voluntarily" (lit., "with wishing")
/so płačen'e/ "crying"

with the complement of certain verbs

/se zasaka so edna čupa/ "He fell in love with a certain girl"

various idiomatic uses

/eden so dva saato/ "between 1 and 2 o'clock"
/su zdravje da si o nosiš/ "May you wear it in health!", "Congratulations [on your new coat (etc.)]!"
/sedete su zdravje/ "Goodbye" [said by guest on leaving]
/su zdravje da si ojte/ "Farewell" [said by host as reply to preceding]
/potkvas ode so zełnik/ "Yoghurt goes with *zelnik*"
/so ofci odeme/ "We pastured the sheep"
/so edno rało čeli vərvea/ "They made do with one pair of shoes"

6.1.18. /sporet <spored>/ "according to; compared with"

/spored verata/ "according to religion"
/sporet ranata šo k'e a jaat/ "depending on the food they eat"

6.1.19. /strede/ "in the middle"

/strede odaata/ "in the middle of the room"
/strede pato/ "in the middle of the road"

6.1.2Ø. /vu, u, v (f)/ "in, into"

The first two forms appear to be in free variation. The third variant is restricted to certain set phrases. The relative age of such phrases is indicated by the fact that nouns are used without the article, cf. /f skol'e/ "to school", /v raka/ "into the hand" below. Note that due to sandhi /vu/ may not be distinguished from /v/ before vowels, e.g. /v oǯako/ "in the

fireplace". Note also that the preposition may be omitted altogether, e.g. /odeše cərkva/, /bete cərkva/ instead of /odeše f cərkva/, /bete f cərkva/; /tamo beše aps/ "He was in prison there" (cf. Groen 1977, 197).

direction

/vu top da i kładiš i na mesečinata da i buniš/
"(We ought to) put them into a canon and shoot them onto the moon"
/ode f skol'e/ "go to school"
/k'e i zanese f cərkva/
"He'll take them to church"
/ót_seło vú_seło/ "from one village to another"
/go zanese lebo vu strina ti/
"Did you take the bread to your aunt's?"
/poarno v raka/ "better directly into the hand"
/v aps/ "into prison" (or "in prison")

location

/vu lerin žive/ "He lives in Lerin"
/v afstrálija eto - edni se znaat, edni ne se znaat/
"Now in Australia, you see" or "Now take Australia for instance (...)"
/v oǯako/ "in the fireplace"
/vu gərneto varea bop starite/
"In the old days they cooked (The old folks used to cook) bean soup in an earthenware pot"
/sink'i u grobo vlegoł/
"I feel like death warmed up" (lit., "as if I had crawled into the grave")

temporal

to designate a point in time:

/vu petoko/ "on Friday"

Cf. /vu petoko/ - /na petok/ above; however, these two constructions do not appear to be functionally differentiated as in the dialect of Dihovo (cf. Groen 1977, 197-198). Cf. also /na

mart/, /vu mart/ "in March". The name of a day of the week can also function as an adverb, e.g.

/u četvə́rtoko dojde/ or /čétvərtok dojde/
"He came on Thursday"
/u petok ne rabota/ "He doesn't work on Fridays"

to designate a space of time:

/dvete mi umrea vu dve nedeli/
"My two (children) died within two weeks"

as the object of certain verbs

/se ispulva vu žena/ "cast lecherous looks at a woman"

6.1.21. /za/

to express the beneficiary of an action:

/ima sałata za tebe/ "There is some salad for you"
/za ni rabotam/ "I'm working for them [i.e. for their benefit; or: at their bidding]
/k'e kupeme kapa za svekor ti/
"We'll buy your father-in-law a cap"
/sea kłavat čenka za kravite da jadat/
"These days they plant sweetcorn for the cows to eat"

as the complement of certain verbs and adjectives:

/zborvame za andarckoto/ "We were talking about the Civil War"
/nogu meraklija za oro/ "very fond of dancing"

local: direction

/beme za u lerin/ "We were going to Lerin"

final

/češa za čae/ "cup for tea", "teacup"

/za spomen/ "to remind you", "as a souvenir"
/k'e oda sea za məzen'e/ "I'm going to milk now"
/se gode za žnan'e/ "He's getting ready for harvesting"
/se godeme za ná_cərkva/ "We get ready for church"
/vapsat jajca za veligden/ "People paint eggs for Easter"
/tamam za ručoko dojdote/ "You came just in time for lunch"
/belegʒija za na rakata/ "a bangle for your arm"
/za inat/ "to spite (him)", "as a punishment"

temporal

/za koku vreme ste tuka/ "How long (for how much time) are you here?"
/za ručok praea/ "They were arranging it for lunchtime"

causal

/mu e žal za kučeto/ "He feels sorry for the dog"
/zá_toa/ "for that", "therefore", "for that reason"

Note the idiomatic use /snaa za brat/ "sister-in-law", literally "by my brother", more often /snaa od brat/ (cf. /od/ § 6.1.1Ø above).

6.1.22. /zat/ <zad> "behind; beyond"

/zad garažo/ "behind the garage"
/zat sakúleo/ "beyond Sakulevo"

6.1.23. Many nouns function as temporal adverbials without a preposition, e.g. /streda/ "on Wednesday", /večer/ "this evening" (cf. also § 6.1.2Ø above):

/k'e dojde nédela/, /k'e dojde na nédela/
"He is coming on Sunday"
/zimata koa dojde nogu studeše/
"The winter when he came it was very cold"[1]

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[1] Note that the verb /studeše/ is impersonal, and hence /zimata/ is here adverbial.

6.2. CONJUNCTIONS (THE COMPLEX SENTENCE)

The syntactic function of conjunctions is to form compound and complex sentences. Compound sentences are formed by means of the co-ordinating conjunctions, complex sentences are formed by means of subordinating conjunctions.

6.2.1. Co-ordinating Conjunctions

6.2.1.1. /i/ copulative "and"

6.2.1.2. /ama/ı, /pa/, /ała/ adversative "but"

/mu ringam i toj ringa ama pak se smesti ot tamo/
"I ring him and he rings (back) but he has moved from there again" (cf. § 7.2.1 below)

/rabotáme nogu, ała pózdravi beme/
"We worked a lot, but we were healthier"

/k'e vi o prodaeme pa za drugo neščo ne o davame kažva/
"'We'll sell it to you, but we won't give it to you for anything else', he said"

/pa druk'o nogu lažeł/
"while the other one was a great liar"

/ipak/[1] "however"

6.2.1.3. /inaku/ adversative "otherwise"

6.2.1.4. /ili/ disjunctive "or"

/ili se ženiš, ili ne se ženiš, pišman k'e se storiš/
"Whether you marry or not, you will regret it"

/ili mał ženi se, ili mał oi kaług'er/
"Either marry young or take vows"

---

[1] actually a conjunct, to use Quirk's & Greenbaum's terminology (cf. § 4.Ø.1 above)

6.2.1.5. /em...em.../ copulative "both...and at the same time"

/em kabaetlija, em žujaplija/
"at fault but unrepentant"

6.2.1.6. /ni...ni/, /nitu ... nitu.../ copulative
"neither...nor..."

/nitu saka toj, nitu sakam jas/
"Neither he wants to nor do I"
/ne razberva ni luto ni soleno/
"He can't tell right from wrong"

Cf. § 6.3.3 below.

6.2.2. Subordinating Conjunctions

6.2.2.1. Declarative Sentences

Declarative sentences may be introduced with /oti/[3]:

/i toj zborvał so ninite komiti oti voj narot małce e/
"and so apparently he spoke/must have spoken with his committeemen and told them that these people were very few in number"
/i rekome oti imame da kłaeme (...)/
"And so we said that now we have something to put down (...)"
/znaat oti sum tuka/ "They know (that) I'm here"
/znam oti ako se opijana k'e mu se rasipa na čupata svadbata/
"I know that if I get drunk I'll ruin the girl's (my daughter's) wedding"

However they are generally introduced without a conjuction (as is also possible in English). Note that in such cases the dialect does not distinguish indirect from direct speech. Examples:

/mi reče k'e dojdat večer/
"He told me (that) they would come this evening" or: "He said to me: 'They will come this evening'"

/ne mi rekoa k'e doat/
"They didn't tell me they were coming"

Possibly the dialect may have been influenced here by Turkish, which does not have indirect speech and does not normally use subordinating conjunctions to form declarative sentences. Cf. also § 6.2.2.1Ø below.

Indirect questions may be introduced by the conjunction /dali/:

/ne znam dali k'e dojde/
"I don't know whether/if he will be coming"

6.2.2.2. Subject and Object Clauses

Object clauses with a modal sense are introduced by the conjunction /da/:

/mu reku na žena mi da mi donese lep/
"I told my wife to bring me some bread"

Similarly, object clauses expressed in English with the infinitive are introduced with the conjunction /da/ (as in Balkan Slavonic generally):

/ne moža da dojda/ "I can't come"
/səti na edno ne možeme da misleme/
"We can't all think of one thing", "We can't all think alike"
/ne sakam da mu o pula surato/
"I don't want even to see his face"

The subject of the main verb and the dependent verb may differ. Here English uses the accusative-with-infinitive construction:

/i ne sakam ti da oiš/
"and I don't want you to go"
/čupite ne i ostavaa da izlegvaa/
"They don't allow the girls to go out"

Subject clauses or clauses in the role of complement of verbs, adjectives etc.:

/poarno da né_oiš/ "It's better if/that you don't go", "Better not go"
/bližee da si dojde/ "He'll soon be here"
/treba da dojde/ "He must come (has to come)"
/treba da oiš kaj dokturo/
"You must go to the doctor"
/(da e) merak da o puliš/
"(so that it's) a delight to behold"
/mi e grej da o pula/ "I can't look", literally "It's a pain for me to look"

Such clauses are introduced by the conjunction /šo/ after modal expressions and may also have a causal sense:

/arno šo dojde/ "It's good that you came", "You were right to come"
/arno stori šo i ostai/
"He was dead right to leave them"
/społajti šo dojde/ "Thank you for coming"
/šuk'ur šo ne piiš/ "Thank goodness you don't smoke"
/samo šo k'e ni zeme nogu pari/
"except that he'll charge us a lot"

Cf. Scatton 1984, 378 et seqq., Kramer 1986 and the sections on final, causal and relative clauses below.

6.2.2.3. Conditional Clauses

/ako/ı

/ako vərne, k'e se store, ako ne vərne, ne se takvova/
"If it rains, they'll ripen, if it doesn't rain, they don't (won't)"[1]
/ako te fateme zá_pərtali, nadvur k'e se najdiš/
"If we get hold of you, you'll be out on your ear"

---

[1] /takvova/ is an expletive verb, which can assume the meaning of any other verb, in this case /se store/ "ripen".

/znam oti ako se opijana k'e mu a rasipa na čupata svadbata/
"I know that if I get drunk I'll ruin the girl's (my daughter's) wedding"
/ako mi tekneše, k'e mu rečef/
"If it had occurred to me, I'd have told him"

/ama/$_2$

/čoek ama rabota sekade k'e se udre/
"If you work you'll always knock yourself"
/ama begaš, ne stude/"If you run, it's not cold"
/ama se gładni, strašni se/
"(Wolves) are dangerous if they are hungry"
/ama sakaš, ostai/ "Stay if you wish"
/ama ne mu kłaiš, k'e se zalepe/
"If you don't add (it), (the dough) will stick"

/da/$_2$

/nogu kravi da imaš, saka mašina/
"If you have a lot of cows, you need (it takes) a (milking) machine (to manage it)"
/jaz da bef, k'e odef/
"If it had been me, I'd have gone"
/eden saat da oda, za brat mi oda/
"If I go for (only) one hour, I'm going for my brother('s sake)"

6.2.2.4. Concessive Clauses

/ako/$_2$

Concessive /ako/ carries the sentence stress and is thus distinguished from conditional /ako/ (cf. preceding §) which does not.

/àko se čužinci, tuka se/
"Even if they are strangers, they are here (amongst us)"

/i da/

/i da ne i znaiš (...)/
"Even if you don't know them, (...)"

6.2.2.5. Causal Clauses

/oti/$_2$ "because"

/šom/ "since" [causal]

/šom ne e pot płano, ne k'e ti daat/
"If (Since) it's not according to the plan, they won't give you (their approval)"

6.2.2.6. Final Clauses

/da/$_1$

/odeše po cərkvite da psałva, da čine/
"He used to do the rounds of the various churches to work as a cantor and so on"
/brat mu odeše da mu pomožva/
"His brother used to go to help him"
/otidu cigari da zema/
"I went to get cigarettes"
/sedi tamo da o vališ ogno pod koteło/
"Sit there and stoke the fire (...)"
/naprai mukaet da odiš/
"Get moving!"
/sea kłavat čenka za kravite da jadat/
"These days they plant sweetcorn for the cows to eat"

/za da/

/o čukame fidano za da padne jabəkoto/
"We shake the fruit tree so that (in order that) the apple will (may) fall"

/žena se podberva za da rode/
"A woman can be treated by witchcraft so that she can have a baby"

Cf. also § 6.3.3 below

6.2.2.7. Consecutive Clauses

/i taka/[1]

/ama se fati (...) pərfjo boj i taka toj ostana/
"but in 1918 World War I began and so he was left"

However consecutive clauses are generally introduced without a conjuction (cf. § 6.2.2.1Ø below):

/denes tərpi utre tərpi osłabnaf/
"You have to put up with it today, put up with it tomorrow, and so I got thin"

6.2.2.8. Attributive (Relative) Clauses

/da/ı

/nemaa dea da i kłaat/
"They have nowhere to put them"

6.2.2.9. Temporal Clauses

/koa/ "when"

/ne vərne koa treba/ "It doesn't rain when it ought to (when we need it)"
/koa k'e si i zamiža očite/
"when I close my eyes (forever)"

---

[1] actually a conjunct, to use Quirk's & Greenbaum's terminology (cf. § 4.Ø.1 above)

/duri, dur/₂ "until"

/duri da se pogode taja/
"until she is ready"
/duri da se pogode taja možeme da a zgotveme manǯata/
"We can cook the meal while she is getting ready"
/a rasipa toj dur da si oj/
"He had ruined it by the time he left"
Cf. § 6.3.6 below.

/dorde/ "as long as"

/dorde e živa/ "as long as she lives"

Cf. /pred da/ "before"

Temporal clauses can also be introduced by the temporal adverb /kako/, /ka/, e.g.

/može da ima dvajse godini ka e begana/
"It may be 2Ø years since she left"

6.2.2.1Ø. Hypotaxis vs. asyndetic constructions

Rather than hypotaxis, the dialect favours asyndetic constructions. Thus, a conditional clause can also be expressed without a conjunction, as in:

/razgalvaš deteto – mu davaš nogu veter, duri na głaata k'e ti se kače/
"(If) you spoil the child – give him a lot of leeway, he'll drive you to distraction (*literally*, he'll jump right on your head)"

/praiš kuk'a, pərvo treba bunar da napraiš/
"If you build a house, first you have to dig a well"

/k'e svirne, k'e izleziš/
"If he hoots his horn, you'll go outside"

The latter examples could also be interpreted temporally; cf.:

/vərneše, se praeše. sea ne vərne, ne se prae/
"When it used to rain, we did it. Now that it doesn't rain any more, we don't do it"
- the statement was made during a drought.

6.2.2.11. Relative Clauses

Relative Clauses may be formed with the relative pronoun /šo/, cf. § 4.6.8 above and the following:

/železnica šo vərve treno/
"the railway where the trains run"

Otherwise, relative clauses may be formed with conjunctions such as /koa/ and with interrogative adverbs such as /de(k)a/:

/zimata koa dojde nogu studeše/
"The winter when he came it was very cold"
/seloto dea žive daleku je/
"The village where he lives is a long way away"

6.3. PARTICLES

We include here also items that are sometimes referred to as "modal words" (e.g. Kepeski 1983, 143; cf. Usikova 1985, 118). With the help of modal words "the speaker expresses his attitude to the reality of the statement", modal words are "lexical items that serve to emphasize (...) modal meanings" (Usikova 1985, 118-119; my translation [PH]).

Particles are non-inflecting words without formal structure. Their function is to modify the meaning of a word, a phrase or a sentence. Particles "are synsemantic words characterized by lack of semantic and functional independence. They cannot be used as an independent part of a sentence. (...) Only under certain circumstances (in dialogues) can some particles be used independently to form incomplete (elliptical) sentences. (...) Particles (...) do not denote objects, phenomena, facts, actions, features (quantitative or qualitative) etc., but rather express an

attitude towards them" (Gramatika II 1983, 476 [my translation]; examples of this cf. § 6.3.4, 6.3.14 below). In some grammatical traditions, the items treated here would be classified as adverbs (cf. Quirk/ Greenbaum 1979 § 5.22–5.26 and § 4.Ø.1 above).

Emotive particles are often hard to distinguish from interjections (cf. Gramatika II 1983, 488–489). Moreover, there are cases of homonymy, that is, the same item may occur in some cases as a particle and in others as an interjection (e.g. /ja/).

6.3.1. /dali/ non-obligatory interrogative particle; normally occurs before the verb

/dali saka?/ "Does he (she) want to?"
/deteto dali dojde?/ "Did the boy come?"

With the appropriate intonation these questions can also be expressed as /saka?/, /dojde deteto?/, i.e. without the particle.

6.3.2. /ne/ negative particle

/ne/ "No"
/toj ne dojde/ "He didn't come"

6.3.3. /nitu/[2] "not even"

/nitu mi odgovori/ "He didn't even answer me"

6.3.4. /ič/ "not at all"

/ič ne o sakam/ "I don't like it (him) one bit"
/ič ne me sluša/ "He doesn't listen to me at all"

6.3.5. There is no affirmative particle equivalent to English "yes"[1], although the interjection /aha/ with falling intonation on the first syllable and rising on the second often functions as such (cf. § 2.2.1.1. above, § 6.4.3 below). An affirmative

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[1] The so-called affirmative particle /da/, which is used in the South Slavonic standard languages, appears to have been borrowed from Russian. It is not characteristic of dialect usage anywhere in the South Slavonic area.

answer is normally expressed by repeating part or all of the predicate of the question:

/dojde deteto?/ "Did the boy come?"
/dojde/ "Yes" (*literally*, "He came")
/bolen je?/ "Is he sick?"
/bolen je/ "Yes" (*literally*, "He is sick")

6.3.6. /duri, dur/$_3$ (reinforces statement) "even"

/razgalvaš deteto – mu davaš nogu veter, duri na głaata k'e ti se kače/

"If you spoil the child – give him a lot of leeway, he'll run all over you"

/duri na četiri saato k'e i pušča/

"I won't let them out before (until) 4 o'clock"

6.3.7. /i/ "also"

/i toj dojde/ "He also came", "He came too"

6.3.8. /isto/ "also"

/ti isto naprai jok/ "You also made a mess"
/reči mu isto i na nea da dojde/
"Tell her too to come"

6.3.9. /be/ reinforces statement

/ajde be/, /ajde bre/ "Hurry up!"
/dojsi tua be/ "Bring it here! Pronto!"
/stude be/ "By Jove, it's cold!"

6.3.1Ø. /bre/, /ma/
enclitic, used for emphasis or to express impatience

The former of these is used when talking to a boy or man, the latter when talking to a girl or woman[1].

/ajde be/, /ajde bre/ "Hurry up!"
/amán bre kosta/or /áabrée kosta/
"Oh my goodness, Kosta! (You're a hopeless case!)"
/kako beše togaj bre pita/
"How was it indeed, Peter!"
/šo veliš ma?/ "What *are* you talking about?!" [said to a woman]
/šo praiš ma?/ "What on earth are you doing?"
/eła ma/ "Come on, for heaven's sake!"
/velencina ma, cane, šo sakaš/
"Rugs, Cane, whatever (sort) you like!"
/cane k'e ti fərle ma?/
"What?! Cane is going to tell your fortune?!"
/ne fatva nogu snek ma/
"After all, we don't have much snow here"

6.3.11. /more/, /mori/, /mare/, /mari, /məri/
usually enclitic, used for emphasis

The variant forms appear to be in free variation.

/ne g'ine more/ "It won't disappear at all"
/more šo dva pati, šo tri pati/
"Twice, three times! My goodness!"
/more mu vela čupe.../
"Well, my girl, I says ..."
/more, zavərna, məči/ "It has rained, for goodness' sake, keep quiet (i.e., be grateful)"
/more šo saanoš peat tije/
"Goodness, they sing all night!"
/more, nogu bučat ušite/
"Goodness, my ears are ringing"

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[1] /bre/ is actually an old Greek masculine vocative (My thanks to G.S. Henrich)

/mori i tua da i vidiš/
"You should just see them here"
/ne, mari, ne, ne e doma/
"No, no, he's not home"
/more i taja go pule pati/
"But she watches it too!"

In two of the preceding examples note also the use of /šo/ as a particle for emphasis.

6.3.12. /pati/ enclitic, expresses impatience
"for heaven's sake!"

/mikali znae pati/ "For goodness' sake, Mikhali knows how!"
/zaedno bea pati/ "But they were together (I tell you!)"
/koj odeše na doktur pati?/
"Whoever went to the doctor? No-one"
/kako baba pati/ "Grandmother my foot!"
/more i taja go pule pati/
"But she watches it too!"
/šo pati toa toku słapko da bide/
"Why on earth should she (/čupeto/) be so thin?"

6.3.13. /eto/ serves to draw attention to a statement
"look, for instance, now"

/v afstrálija eto - edni se znaat, edni ne se znaat/
"Now in Australia, you see" or "Now take Australia for instance (...)"

/eto/ also occurs as an interjection meaning "Look!" or "Here it is!" (cf. /ja/, § 6.4.6-6.4.7 below).

6.3.14. /ja/ serves to draw attention to a statement

/ja pomina godinata/ "Well there it is, another year gone"
/ja tamo! najdi go/ "Go on, look for it!"

/ja/ occurs also as an exhortative interjection (cf. /eto/, § 6.4.6-6.4.7 below).

6.3.15. /k'e/

On the future particle /k'e/ see § 6.5.3 below.

6.3.16. /neka/, /nek/ (optative part.) "let, may"

Optative sentences are expressed with the particle /neka/ or the conjunction /da/ + finite verb form:

/neka spije/ "Let him sleep", "He ought to go to sleep"
/neka se uče/ "Let him study", "He ought to study"
/neka dojde/ "Let him come", "He can come any time"
/ałaf neka mu se/, /ałav da mu se/
"He's welcome to them", "May he prosper with them", "Good luck to him!"
/nek povare troa/ "Let it boil for a bit"

also in a concessive sense:

/neka vərne/ "Let it rain", "It can rain for all I care"
/i vładikata u sidni gərck'i, tije k'e dojdat da vi se popłačat– neka dojdat, kažva (...)
"and the Greek bishop in Sydney, they'll come to complain to you". – "Let them come", he said, (...)

6.3.17. /da/3

/da/3 introduces wishes and exhortations (cf. Groen 1977, 2Ø4; cf. also preceding §)

/saačo da bide nagoren/
"The grill must be heated up well"
/da ni se živi jorgofci/
"Long live all the Yorgos!"
/airlija (da vi e) pato/
"Bon voyage!"
/airlija da ti e rabotata/
"I wish you success in your work!"

/ałaf neka mu se/, /ałav da mu se/
"He's welcome to them", "May he prosper with them", "Good luck to him!"
/aram da ti e/ "May it do you no good!", "You should be ashamed of yourself!"
/bog da čua/ "God forbid!"

Thus, a sentence introduced by /da/ often fulfils the function of an imperative:

/barem edno neščo da mi donesiš/
"Bring me at least something"

in interrogative sentences:

/da te čekame?/ "Shall we wait for you?"

One can also regard the above examples as elliptical sentences, e.g. /*sakame* da ni se živi jorgofci/ "*We wish* that all the Yorgos may live long!", /*sakaš* da te čekame?/ "*Do you want* me to wait for you?"; /saačo *treba* da bide nagoren/"The grill *must be* heated up well" (cf. /da/$_1$)

6.3.18. /da/$_4$ expresses doubt

/da ne e nogu fetka vaa kuk'a/
"Isn't this house very old?"

6.3.19. /može/ expresses doubt or supposition
"perhaps"

6.3.2Ø. /belk'i/ expresses doubt or supposition
"maybe; don't you agree?"

/belk'i k'e dojde/ "I suppose he'll come"

/vaa godina troa ni zavərna belk'i/
"It didn't rain much this year, did it?"

6.3.21. /sink'i/ "like, as if, I suppose"

/sink'i marmełada/ "like marmelade"
/sink'i (da su) vu kafkas/
"as if (I were) in the Caucasus"
/sink'i k'e dojde/ "I suppose he's coming"

/sink'i u grobo vlegoł/
"I feel like death warmed up"
/sink'i znam/ "As if I knew!", "How would I know?"

6.3.22. /demék/ expresses clarification
"I mean, that is, well"

6.3.23. /k'ešk'i/ expresses regret "if only"

/k'ešk'i da kupéme druga kursa/
"If only we had bought another car"
/k'ešk'i da i dadef - pišman se storif/
"If only I had given them [to them]- now I'm sorry"

6.3.24. /šuk'ur/ "fortunately, thank goodness"

/šuk'ur a storiv vaa rabota/
"Thank goodness I did that"
/šuk'ur šo ne piiš/ "Thank you for not smoking", "Thank goodness you don't smoke"

6.3.25. /anǯak, anǯák/"scarcely, just"

/anǯak i svəršif/ "I could hardly finish them"
/anǯak šo se vərna/ "He just got back"
/anǯak šo živéme/ "We hardly made a living", "We scarcely survived"

6.3.26. /udvae/ (synonymous with preceding)

6.3.27. /maksus/ "especially"

/maksus uguł otidu za voj šej/
"I went there especially for that"

6.3.28. /barem/ "at least"

/barem edno neščo da mi donesiš/
"Bring me at least something"
/ne vika barem/ "At least he isn't noisy"

6.3.29. /sae/ "only; all the time, forever"

/na prikata sae ženi se berat/
"Only women come to inspect the dowry"
/sae pišiš/ "You never stop writing!"

6.3.3Ø. /samo/ "only"

/samo tri mina imaše tamo/
"There were only three people there"
/samo cana može da znae/
"Only Cana could know that"

6.3.31. /uguł/ "only; completely"

/odi vu g'ermanija uguł čae/
"If you go to Germany, all you get is tea"

6.4. INTERJECTIONS

Under this heading we include interjections in the narrow sense of the word as well as certain expressions that function as complete utterances but are not grammatically sentences (in German *Satzäquivalente*, cf. Buchholz/Fiedler 395 et seqq.)

Interjections in the narrow sense "are unproductive, do not enter into syntactic relationships with other classes [of words]; [their] function is purely emotive" (Crystal 1987, 16Ø–161). They have their own stress (i.e. they are not enclitic) and often contain phonemes that do not otherwise exist in the language (cf. /aha/, /haj/); further, some interjections contain extremely long vowels (cf. /éemí/, /lele/; cf. Gramatika II 1983, 467).

Interjections are often polysemous or rather polyfunctional (we do not consider that interjections have lexical meaning). As with particles, there are unclear cases; moreover, nouns and whole phrases with clear syntactic structures may be used as interjections.

Sometimes interjections can serve as predicates.

6.4.1. /amán/ expresses dismay "oh dear!", "alas!"

/amán bre kosta/ "Oh my goodness, Kosta!"

/amán, oti ne me opita/
"Oh dear, why didn't you ask me (first)?"

6.4.2. /amí/ emphatic confirmation "well of course; told you so" Cf. /éemí/, § 6.4.9 below

6.4.3. /aha/ "yes" Cf. 2.2.1, 6.3.5 above

6.4.4. /ajde/, /hajde/, /haj/
general exhortative interjection "hurry up!", "let's go!"

/ajde bre/ "Hurry up!" (here said to a man, cf. /bre/)

/haj/ "come on; Bob's your uncle"

/izvai o mlekoto i haj/
"He brought out the milk and then left"
/k'e kładat solini i haj/
"They put in pipes and Bob's your uncle"
/k'e i zeme parite i haj/
"He'll take the money and shoot through"

6.4.5. /na/$_2$ "here you are", "Help yourself!"

/ná_ti_o/ or /na/ "Here you are", "Here it is! Help yourself!"

6.4.6. /eto/ also occurs as an interjection meaning "Look!" or "Here it is!" (cf. /ja/).

6.4.7. /ja/ (exhortation)

/ja! vidi tamo/ "Look!"

6.4.8. /lele/ expresses surprise or dismay; the second syllable is often pronounced with a very long vowel. Variant form: /lele majko/, generally pronounced with a very long /o/.

6.4.9. /éemí/ "oh well" (used to preface expression of resignation)

/éemí, šo da praeme/ "Oh well, what can we do?" Cf. /amí/

6.4.1Ø. /ako/$_3$ "no matter!"

6.4.11. The following also function as interjections:

/majkata/	(expletive)
/za greoi/	"It's a shame"
/stramota/	"It's a disgrace"
/na zdravje/	"Your health" (also often humorous equivalent of /pərc/, q.v.)
/społajti/	"Thank you" (sg.)
/społajvi/	"Thank you" (pl.)[1]
/błaʒeti/	"Half your luck!"; also /błaʒevi/ [pl.]; /błaʒemu/ "Half his luck!" etc.
/vistina, vístina/	"Really?!"
/kúznae/	"Who knows?, God knows!"
/šó_praiš/	"Hallo!" (greeting) (sg.)
/šó_praete/	"Hallo!" (greeting) (pl.)
/dobro osunvan'e/	"Good night!"
/airlija pato/	"Bon voyage!"
/ałásandek/	"Heaven forbid!" (also /bog da čua/ "God forbid!")
/bujrum/,/-te/[pl]	"Sit down! Come in! etc." Cf. /na/2
/majče, mame/	term of endearment used by old women to young people, orig. /majče dete/, /mame dete/
/mášała/	"Good on you! Congratulations!", [said to child:] "My, how you've grown!"
/sikter/	"Get out!"
/tintak/	"out like a light" /legni si - tintak/ "You lie down and you're out like a light"
/šlapni/	"yum yum" (onomat. for eating)
/trap trup/	onomat. for sound of steps

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[1] /ti/ has here been reinterpreted by popular etymology as a personal pronoun; in fact /społajti/ is from modern Gk. *spoláiti* < *s pollá éti ('eis pollà 'étē).*

/ʒángara mángara/ (onomat.) "rubbish; double Dutch"
/pərc/ onomatopoeic exclamation on hearing someone fart

6.5. FORMS AND USES OF THE COMPLEX FORMS OF THE VERB[1]

6.5.1. *l*-participle (aorist participle, cf. § 4.9.2.3 above) + finite form of the auxiliary verb /e/ "to be" (old perfect tense)

The old perfect tense has the function of "distancing" (Lunt 1952, 91; Auburger 1977) the speaker from the action (cf. also § 6.5.2 below). In the 3rd person the auxiliary is generally omitted.

6.5.1.1. Perfect

The old perfect tense can be used to denote an event in the indefinite past continuing on into the present, as in

/ti si ostareła so kursa/
"You have grown up with a car"

6.5.1.2. Renarration

The old perfect tense is used to report statements by other people, especially when these are viewed with scepticism. Cf. Gerdžikov 1984; Friedman 1986; 1988.

/taka praele vu moriovo/
"That's what they used to do in Moriovo [*so I'm told*]"
/zaedno živele/ "[*I gather*] they lived together"
/taka mu vikale/ "[*Apparently*] that's what they used to call him"
/neka dojdele/ "They were supposed to come", "She told them to come"
/nogu imała pogodeno/"(She said) she had prepared a lot"

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[1] Readers are referred also to Friedman 1977.

This tense is typically used in stories (cf. esp. § 7.1.1 below). The following is an example of the *conclusive* use of this tense (cf. Gerdžikov 1984,1Ø):

/i toj zborvał so ninite komiti/
"and so apparently he spoke/must have spoken with his committeemen"

6.5.1.3. Admirative

The old perfect tense is also used to denote astonishment, e.g.

/star bił/ "Oh yes! He's very old!"

(reacting to the statement that the interlocutor's father is 81 years old).

/cola biła vaja/ "Ah! It's Cola!"

(said on recognizing Cola on a photo)

6.5.2. New or "Romance" Perfect

The ppp is used in the n.sg. form with the auxiliary verb /imam/ "have" to denote events completed at some indefinite time in the past:

/ednaš ima odeno vu bitola/
"One day he went to Bitola"

Generally this construction indicates that the event is still of some relevance for the present:

/nemam odeno vu carevo/
"I have not been to Carevo"
/nogu pati imam odeno tamo/
"I've been there many times"
/ti go imam rečeno toa/
"I've already told you that"
/imam slušnato.../, /imam počueno.../
"I have heard that [such and such]"

/ima zavərnato samo ednaš denes/
"It has rained only once today"
/imam stanvato vu šes/
"I have got up at six in my time"

According to Friedman (1977, 98), in the Macedonian standard language this tense has the features statality, resultativity and present reference. It thus corresponds closely to the English perfect.

A pluperfect tense is formed with the impf. tense of /imam/:

/imaše narodeno toku deca/
"She had born so many children"

With ipf. verbs this construction often indicates that the action took place repeatedly in the past:

/koku imam prano čergi/
"How many rugs have I washed [in my time]!"
/koku imam paseno kravi tuka/
"How many times did I come here [as a child] to graze cows!"
/imam sonvato.../ "I have sometimes dreamt [such and such]"

The ppp of intransitive verbs is used to form an alternative perfect tense with the auxiliary "to be". In this case the ppp agrees in number and gender with the subject of the sentence.

/dojdeni se/ "They've arrived"
/večeran si?/ "Have you had supper?"
/zaginat beše/ "He had disappeared"
/bea legnati/ "They were already in bed"
/beše oden vu stari kraj/
"He had left for the Old Country"
/može da ima dvajse godini ka e begana/
"It may be 2Ø years since she left"

6.5.3. Use of the Particle /k'e/

The particle /k'e/ is used in conjunction with the present tense of either aspect to form the future tense:

/k'e ti kupa nof fustan/
"I'll buy you a new dress"
/nogu lug'e k'e ima/ "There'll be a lot of people there"

The negative may be expressed by /ne k'e/ or /nema da/:

/ne k'e saka/ "He won't want to"
/nema da dojde/ "He won't be coming"

The same construction is used to express a repeated action with no reference to a particular point in time:

/k'e greda doma, k'e čista, k'e pera/
"I come home, I clean the house, do the washing..."
/vu edinajse saato k'e si praa kafe/
"I make coffee [every day] at 11 o'clock"
/setne k'e igrat oro/ "Later they dance"
/na osum vang'el k'e stane, k'e se izmije, k'e si store, kafeto k'e svare/
"Vangel gets up at 8, he washes, does this and that, makes coffee"
/cerepnata k'e a nagoriš/
"You (one) had to heat up the dish"
/k'e a prevərniš pogačata/
"You (one) had to turn the loaf out of the dish"

Repeated events in the past can be expressed by combining /k'e/ with the impf. tense:

/tikvi k'e kłavaja nis čenkata, nis patatite/
"They would plant pumpkins in amongst the sweetcorn, the potatoes"

Note the use of the pf.impf. in the following examples:

/k'e me skorneše sverkərva mi nogu rano,
k'e mi rečeše 'stani nevesto'/
"My mother-in-law used to wake me very early, she would say to me: 'Get up, daughter-in-law!'"
/koa k'e pomineše, ako o fateše.../
"And when he would come by, if he caught him..."

In conjunction with the forms of the impf tense, the particle /k'e/ also serves to express so-called potential or unreal conditions. It thus corresponds to the preterite and the conditional in English conditional sentences.

/ubao k'e beše (ako a kupeše taa kuk'a)/
"It would have been wonderful (if he had bought that house)"
/k'e mu kažef ako znaef/
"I would tell him if I knew (I would have told him if I had known)"
/k'e dojdef ako možef/
"I'd come if I could (I'd have come if I'd been able)"

The protasis can also be introduced with the conjunction /da/:

/da imaf vreme, k'e dojdef/
"If I had time, I'd come (Had I had time, I'd have come)"

The construction /k'e/ + /da/ is used to express probability:

/k'e da e bolen čoeko/
"He must be sick"
/sekoj den k'e da stanva rano/
"I suppose he gets up early every day"
/k'e da si spijat/ "No doubt they're sound asleep"
/k'e da beše ubao vremeto/
"I dare say it was fine"
/k'e da imaše neščo/ "Something must have happened"

/k'e da stane rano/ "No doubt he'll get up early"
/k'e da stana rano/ "He must have got up early"

6.5.4. Passive, Generalized Subject, Impersonal Constructions

6.5.4.1. The dynamic passive is expressed with the pronoun /se/ (cf. Đorđević 1988, 28: /se/ꙉ)

/takvi nešča ne se praat kaj nas/
"Such things are not done here"

6.5.4.2. The static passive is expressed by the ppp + verb /e/ "to be":

/venčan je sin ti/ "Your son is married"
/ogno je zapalen/ "The fire is lit (has been lit)"
/tatko ti šo e cepen pet pati/
"Your father who has been operated on five times..."

6.5.4.3. The 3rd pl. can be used to express an action carried out by unspecified agents (such a sentence is referred to in Russian grammatical terminology as "generalized-personal" - *obobščenno-ličnoe predloženie*, cf. Achmanova 1966, 273). English has the same construction.

/ne ne sakaa/ "They don't like us (People don't like us, No-one likes us)"
/tuka ne te ostavaa da teraš bərzu/
"You are (One is) not allowed (They won't allow you/one) to drive fast here"
/ne te g'ibat/ "They leave you (one) in peace"

6.5.4.4. The last two examples also illustrate the use of the 2nd sg. as a generalized agent (or patient). This construction is common in a number of European languages, including English. Cf. also:

/nogu kravi da imaš, saka mašina/
"If you have (If one has) a lot of cows, it takes [ips.] a machine"

6.6. NOTES ON THE USE OF MOODS AND TENSES

6.6.1. Tense and Aspect

The tense system is older than the aspects. In Old Church Slavonic (Old Bulgarian) the aorist typically expressed a completed action in the past whereas the imperfect expressed an incomplete or repeated action (on Old Church Slavonic cf. Schmalstieg 1976 §6.75). The imperfect thus expressed the background against which events occurred, the latter being expressed in the aorist.

With the development of the aspects, it was logical that the aorist was typically formed from pf. verbs and the impf. from ipf. verbs. This development is practically complete in contemporary standard Macedonian, where ipf. aorists hardly occur any more. On contemporary standard Bulgarian cf. Aronson 1967, Ivančev 1971.

Our dialect preserves an older, i.e. the intermediate stage, in which the aorist of simple, i.e. unprefixed, ipf. verbs can express a completed action in the past (cf. § 4.9.1.1. above):

/toj me kərsti/ "He baptized me"
/seči lep/ "He cut some bread"
/służíme tri godini tamo/
"We worshipped there for 3 years"
/płatete vele i begajte demek sedite nogu/
"Pay your bill and go", he said, "you've been sitting here a long time."

Cf. /o sekome k'eresteto/ "We cut up the timber" expresses a past and completed action, but one that was either repeated or at least took some time.

The present tense is not formed from perfective verbs. Perfective forms corresponding morphologically to the present tense occur in main clauses in conjunction with particles (cf. § 6.5.3–6.5.4 above) and in subordinate clauses, where they often correspond to English infinitives (cf. § 6.2.2 above).

Similarly, the imperfect tense is normally formed from imperfective verbs. Perfective forms corresponding morphologically to the imperfect tense occur in main clauses in conjunction with particles (cf. § 6.5.3–6.5.4 above) and in conditional constructions (potential and unreal conditions):

/ako ni a dadea knigata, k'e a napraéme kuk'ata/
"If they had given us the permit, we'd have built that house."

(as a so-called real condition:
/ako ni a *dadat* knigata, k'e a *napráeme* kuk'ata/; cf. also § 6.5.3 above).

6.6.2. Present Tense

The historic present is widely used in narratives (cf. Chapter 7)

/i ode taa, si spije tamo ná_večer/
"And she went and slept there in the evening."

6.6.3. Imperative

The imperative expresses a request or demand (examples cf. § 3.1.4.2 above).

Apart from this prototypical use, the imperative may replace any finite verb:

/izvai o mlekoto i haj/
"He put out the milk and left"
/snošči svetni gərmi/ "Last night there was thunder and lightning"
/odi vu g'ermánija uguł čae/
"If you go to Germany, all you get is tea"
/izbegaj tije, andartite, izlezi/
"You waited until they - the partisans- left, then you came out" (or: "One would wait ...")
/odi vəko dónesi_mu/ "And so the wolf went away and brought it her"
/dea ode izlaži nájai_se/
"wherever he went he would cheat people and get a feed"

6.6.4. Expletive verbs and constructions

The *da*-construction is sometimes used expletively, that is, when a main clause with a present tense (especially the historic present) would be adequate:

/i taa da plete da takvova/
"and she just goes on crocheting"

The verb /takvova/ has no meaning of its own but simply assumes that of some preceding verb, in this case /plete/ (cf. Groen 1977, 22Ø; 222, cf. § 6.2.2.3 above [footnote]). Further examples:

/sea səti takvovaa/ "They're all doing it now"

The verbs /čine/ and /store/ can also be used with this desemanticized function, e.g.

/odeše po cərkvite da psałva, da čine/
"He did the rounds of the churches, working as a cantor and doing this and that"
/na osum vang'el k'e stane, k'e se izmije, k'e si store, kafeto k'e svare/
"Vangel gets up at 8, he washes, does this and that, makes coffee"

7. TEXTS

7.

7.1. TRANSCRIBED RECORDINGS

7.1.1. *PRIKAZNA*

told by EK, Gorno Kalenik, 4.V.1989. This text is transcribed in IPA symbols. Stress is indicated by the symbol ' before the stressed syllable. ¦ is used to indicate a pause, ¦...¦ indicates that some matter has been omitted from the transcription, () indicates uncertain matter.

'ɛδɛn ¦ a¦ 'biɬ 'nɔʏu 'praf_tʃoɛk¦ 'nɛ_sakaɬ
Well, a certain man was a very truthful person, he didn't
da iz'ɬaʒɛ¦ nɛ 'sakaɬ da sɛ¦ 'vamɔ[?]¦ 'nɛ:ma[1]
like lying, he didn't like to [?], no way.
si'rɔma ɛ ɔ'gɬaδɛɬ 'pustijɔ ¦ ɔ'sɬave[2] ¦'gɬaδɛn¦
Poor man, he went hungry, poor man, he was [?] famished,
pa 'druk,ɔ 'nɔʏu 'ɬaʒɛɬ¦ 'dɛa 'ɔδi[3]
while the other one was a great liar: wherever he went
'izɬaʒi 'najai_sɛ¦ 'dɛa 'ɔδi
he would cheat people and get a feed, wherever he went
'utkraδi[4] 'najai_sɛ¦ ɔ'δɛlɛ pɔ 'nɛkoɟ 'pat
he would steal and get a feed. They were walking along
i sɛ stra'tilɛ[5] 'dvata ¦ 'ɔti si 'tɔku 'słap mu 'rɛkɔɬ¦
and they met. "Why are you so thin?" he asked him.
'vɛlɛ ¦a ¦ 'nɛmaʃ ʃɔ [?] da 'kəsnɛʃ 'vɛlɛ
He said, "Well, if you don't have anything to eat
'dɛnɛs 'tərpi 'utrɛ 'tərpi
you have to put up with it today, put up with it tomorrow,
ɔ'słabnaf¦ 'bu'δaɬa[6] mu 'rɛkɔɬ 'ɛɬa 'sɔ_mɛnɛ 'vɛlɛ
and so I got thin. "Fool!" he said to him, "come with me"

---

[1] rhetorical vowel lengthening (cf. § 2.1.4 above)
[2] apparently for /oslabe/ "he had wasted away"
[3] expected /ode/; but possibly narrative use of the imperative, as also in the following verb forms (cf. § 6.6.3 above).
[4] for /'otkradi/; formerly reduced vowel under stress is here retained with reduced quality; cf. /nogu/ <-- /mnogo/
[5] apparently for /stretile/, presumably an archaism; not otherwise registered in the dialect
[6] rhetorical double stress

¦ 'jas k'ɛ tɛ na'jaδa¦ i 'kak 'taka mu 'rɛkoł
he said, "I'll get you a feed". "And how", he said,
k,ɛ mɛ 'naiʃ[1]¦ 'ɛła ti 'pɔ_mɛnɛ 'vɛlɛ ¦
"will you get me a feed?" "Just you come with me"
ɔ'tiʃlɛ na 'ɛdna mɛ'ana ¦ 'karsun[2] 'dɔjsi 'tɔa
and they went off to a pub. "Waiter, bring us this,
'dɔjsi 'vɔa 'dɔjsi 'mɛsɔ 'dɔjsi pi'jatʃka ¦
bring us that, bring us meat, bring us a drink!"
sɛ naja'dɔa 'tɔku da 'biδɛ ¦
And they ate their fill, as much as it was
i si 'sɛδat[3] si 'łafat sɛ pri'kaʒva:
and they sat there chatting
¦ i 'toi̯ mu 'vɛlɛ:[4]¦ 'płatɛtɛ 'vɛlɛ i 'bɛgai̯tɛ¦ 'dɛmɛk[5]
and he said to them: "Pay up", he says, "and leave, I mean,
sɛ'ditɛ 'nɔγu 'grɛδat 'drug'i ¦
you've been sitting here a long time, there are others coming.
'płatɛtɛ 'bɛgai̯tɛ ¦ a: bɛ 'dɔi̯si mi 'rɛsta
Pay up and go". "Wait a moment, bring me my change"
'vɛlɛ 'zatɔa 'sɛδa 'tʃɛkam 'rɛsta da mi a dɔ'nɛsiʃ
he said, "that's why I'm here, waiting for you to bring
¦ i 'toi̯ rɛsto'ranta[?] mu 'rɛkoł ɛ: məri pra'vi:nɔ:[6]¦
the change." And the publican said, "Oh my, truth,
'dɛa si 'vɛlɛ məri¦ nɛ mi da'δɔa 'pari
where are you?" he says, "they didn't give me any money,
¦ 'pari mi 'saka: ¦ ja'δɛn,ɛ sɛ naja'δɔa
[now] they want money from me, they have eaten their fill
'pari mi 'saka:¦ i 'toi̯ ʃɔ 'bił kavatli'jata[7] mu 'rɛkoł
and they want money from me". And the other one [?] said
'ama ja 'ɛtu[8] su 'vɛlɛ 'tua su 'ama jas 'jaδu ka da ti
"Well, here I am", he said, "here I am, I ate up, what can I
'rɛtʃa¦ 'jas 'jaδu 'vɛlɛ 'sɛa ka da ti 'rɛtʃa
say? I ate up," he said, "now what can I say?"

---

1 for /najadiš/
2 Ottoman *ǵārsūn* from French
3 historical present (as following verb-forms)
4 rhetorical lengthening
5 expected [dɛ'mɛk] (cf. § 3.3.5 above)
6 rhetorical lengthening
7 [kaba:tlija] for /kabaetlija/ or Turkish *kavat* "cowardly"?
8 for /eto/

7.1.2. *PRIKAZNA*

told by LS, Melbourne, 11-12.XI.1983. The text is transcribed phonematically. Stress is indicated by the symbol ' before the stressed syllable.

'beše 'eden 'maš¦ 'dovec¦ i i'maše 'ena 'k'erka¦
Once upon a time there was a widow and he had one daughter
i 'toj se pre'žena¦ i 'ženata šo a 'ze i'maše i 'taa 'edna
and he remarried and the woman he married also had one
'k'erka ¦i 'ženata si a mił'vaše 'nogu 'ninata 'k'erka¦ a
daughter and the woman loved her own daughter very much but
'k'erkata šo a 'najde ne 'a[1]
the daughter that she found [in her new home] she did not
mił'vaše 'ič¦ 'se mu da'vaše 'nadvur¦ 'odi 'nadvur¦ 'sedi ti
love at all. She always fed her outside. "Go outside, sit down
'sea¦ 'jadi 'suf 'lep¦ na 'k'erka mu 'nina mu da'vaše se u'bai
now, eat dry bread". To her own daughter she always gave
¦u'bao ja'den'e ¦ i 'eden 'den¦ šo k'e 'prae¦ 'sakaa[2] da a
good... good food. And one day, what does she do? They want
za'g'inat 'k'erka mu šo a 'najde 'taa 'k'erka¦
to kill the daughter that she found, that [other] daughter.
šo k'e 'praeme mu 'vele[3] na 'ninata mu 'k'erka¦ 'ajde¦ k'e¦
"What shall we do?" she said to her own daughter. "Well, we'll
k'e a 'zajseme¦ k'e a 'puščeme na vode'nicata¦ k'e mu
take her... we'll send her to the mill, we'll make her
'meseme 'lepče so¦ 'suo 'lepče k'e mu 'puščeme so 'kučeto i
a roll with... a dry roll, we'll send her with the dog and
'mačeto k'e a 'puščeme na vode'nicata¦ i 'tamo da i i'zede
the cat... we'll send her to the mill, so that the wolf can
'reče¦ 'vəko¦ da i i'zede ¦ i 'ode[4] 'taa¦ si 'spije 'tamo
eat them up there," she said, "eat them up". And she went
'na_večer¦ si 'sedna da si 'jade¦
and slept there in the evening. She sat down to have her meal,
so 'mačeto i 'kučeto si 'sede¦ 'mačeto 'mjao¦ 'tamo¦ 'daj
she sits there with the cat and the dog. The cat goes "Miaow,
'lepče 'suo¦ 'kučeto 'xao 'ǯafna¦ mu 'dade

---

1 The enclitic is apparently stressed.
2 historic present (as many of the following verb-forms)
3 historic present
4 historic present

give me some dry bread". The dog barked "Bow wow!" and she
'lepče¦ a 'sega¦ 'sekoa 'večer gre'deše 'eden vək 'tamo¦
gave him a little bread. Now, every evening a wolf used to
'okulu vode'nicata¦ i 'vəko mu 'vele¦ 'trop 'trop 'beła
come there to the mill and the wolf says: "Knock! Knock! My
'nedo¦ 'otvori_kaza¦ da 'vleza 'natre¦
fine Neda. Open up!" he said, "so that I can come in".
'u:¦ 'kuče 'mače 'ka[1] da 'reča mu 'vele 'čupata¦
"Ooh! Dog, cat: what can I answer him?" the girl says.
'ami¦ 'tija mu 'velat¦ 'ka k'e mu 'rečiš¦
"Well," they answer her, "what can you answer him?
'kaži 'reči mu¦ 'odi da mi do'nesiš 'edna u'baa 'ruba da se
Tell him: 'Bring me a beautiful set of clothes for me to get
pro'mena¦ 'nemam 'plačk'i¦ 'odi[2] 'vəko¦ 'donesi mu¦ 'pak¦
dressed up. I don't have any clothes". The wolf went and brought [it back to her].
'trop¦ 'trop¦ 'beła 'nedo¦ 'otvori¦ 'ami 'ka da 'reča 'kuče
"Knock! Knock! My fine Neda. Open up!" "What am I going to
'mače ¦'ami 'reči mu da do'nese 'sea 'čeli¦
him, dog, cat?" "Well, tell him to bring some shoes now,
ka'peła da ti do'nese¦ 'kapa¦ da ti do'nese flo'rini¦ da se
a coat, a hat, to bring you gold coins, so that you can
ob'lečiš u'bao¦ 'a'mi: ə¦ 'donesi[3] 'toj 'vəko¦
get dressed up". Well, then, that wolf brought [it all].
i 'eden 'den 'vəko ne pre'stigna da se 'vərne 'nazat¦i 'taa
And one day the wolf did not manage to return in time and
si 'sta:na[4]¦ si o'tvori vode'nicata¦ 'vratata i si 'dojde 'nazad
she got up and opened the door of the mill and went back home
vu 'sełoto:[5]¦ ka[6] 'tatko mu i ma maš'čea mu¦ i prome'nata
to the village, to her father and stepmother, all dressed up,
u'baa so u'bai 'rubi¦ i 'taa 'majka mu maš'čea¦
beautiful, with beautiful clothes, and her mother ... stepmother

---

[1] apparently for /kako/ "How shall I talk to him?"
[2] imperative replacing aorist (cf. § 6.6.3)
[3] imperative replacing an aorist (cf. § 6.6.3)
[4] apparently rhetorical lenghthening (cf. § 2.1.4)
[5] apparently rhetorical lenghthening (cf. § 2.1.4)
[6] /kaj/

i 'k'erka mu 'kaza 'vaa¦ ne a i'zede 'vəko¦
and her daughter said, "But she hasn't been eaten by the wolf".
'ami 'vele¦ 'imaše[1] 'eden če[2]¦ mi 'noseše[3] 'nekoi 'plački
"You see," she said, "there was someone that brought me
da se ob'leča¦ da se pro'mena¦ 'ami¦ jas k'e a pušča 'mojata
some clothes to put on, to dress up". "Oh, well, I'll send my
'k'erka 'sea ¦ mu 'mese 'zełnik po'gača¦ mu 'pušča¦ u'bai¦
daughter now". And she baked a pie, a loaf of bread, she sent
'nogu u'bai ja'den'a¦ 'dobri ja'den'a i a 'pušča 'k'erka mu
her off with very fine food, good food, and she sent her
od ve'čerr[4]¦ 'taa 'jadi na ve'čerata
daughter off in the evening. Now she was eating her supper
so¦ 'sedna na ve'čerata¦ 'mačeto i 'kučeto
with ... She sat down for supper and the cat and the dog went
'mjao 'xao¦ 'pukni 'tresni¦ k'e ti 'daa 'sega od 'ubavjo[5]
"miaow", "bow-wow" "I'm sick and tired of you. I'll give you
lep¦ a¦ 'pukni 'tresni¦ 'tija 'soberi se
some of the good bread now. I'm sick and tired of you. They settled down [but]
¦ne ¦ne mu 'dade da 'jadat¦ 'və 'vəko 'ropa 'pak¦
she didn't give them anything to eat. The wolf knocks again:
'trop 'trop 'beła 'nedo¦ 'otvori¦ 'ami 'mače 'kuče
"Knock! Knock! My fine Neda. Open up!" "Oh dear, cat, dog,
'ka da 'reča¦ 'mačeto i 'kučeto mu 'velat¦
what can I say?" The cat and the dog say to her:
'kak šo si o i'zede 'čistoto 'pupče¦ 'vaka da mu 'rečiš¦ ne
"Just as you ate up that fresh roll – talk like that to him!" She
zna'eše 'ka da mu 'reče na 'vəko¦ i 'vəko 'vlegva¦ 'pita¦
didn't know what to say to the wolf. And the wolf came in, Peter,
od 'baʒata ¦'vlegva¦ ga[6] 'izedva[7] 'čupata¦

---

[1] expected /im'aše/
[2] for /'reče/
[3] expected /no'seše/
[4] The final vowel of a conceptual paragraph is often elongated (cf. /sełoto:/ above); here the final consonant is elongated and the stress transferred from the penultimate to the last syllable (cf. § 2.1.4, 3.7).
[5] expected /'ubafjo/
[6] expected /ja/ or /a/
[7] expected /i'zedva/

through the hole in the roof, he comes in and he eats the girl.
i 'ə¦ 'kožata na 'gredata a 'kława i 'mačeto i 'kučeto si
And he fixes her skin on the woodwork and the cat and the
'gredat 'doma 'sa:mi:[1]¦ 'pule 'majka mu¦ 'nema 'k'erka¦
dog come home alone. The girl's mother looks: No daughter.
'ami 'dea se[2] 'kuče i 'mače¦ 'k'erka mi¦ 'otidva[3] da 'vide
"But where, dog and cat, is my daughter?" She goes off to look
ka[4] vode'nicata¦ ize'dena 'k'erka mu obe'sena¦ 'kožata na
at the mill. Her daughter eaten and her skin hung up on
'gredata¦ 'deka si 'nedo 'vele¦ a: 'toj 'vəko 'čini¦
the woodwork. "Where are you Neda?" she says. "Aah, that wolf
'kožata na 'gredata¦ 'deka e 'neda 'kožata na 'gredata ¦ i
did this. Her skin on the woodwork. Where is Neda? Her skin
'svəršva pri'kaznata
on the woodwork". And here ends the story.

7.1.3. *A DISAGREEABLE COMPATRIOT*

Story told by middle-aged woman in Gorno Kalenik. This text is transcribed phonetically in IPA symbols.

'na_nas 'nɛ_ni 'bɛʃɛ 'arɛn¦...¦ ɛ 'toi̯ nɛ 'nɛ ʃɔ 'saka
He wasn't good to us¦...¦ No, he, no, let him do as he
'nɛka 'praɛ za 'taka¦ 'ama 'znaiʃ mu a na'prai 'pandɔ
likes in that respect, but, you know, Pando repaired his car.
'kɔłata¦i'maʃɛ zɛ'mɛnɔ 'kɔła ɔt i̯ugɔ'sławija¦ 'kɔa sa'kaʃɛ da
He had brought a car from Yugoslavia, and when he was
si 'ɔi̯ trɛ'baʃɛ da a na'praɛ¦ za δa a ɔ'staɛ¦
leaving he had to repair it, so that he could leave it.
'akɔ nɛ a na'praɛ nɛ mɔ'ʒɛʃɛ da a ɔ'staɛ¦
If he didn't repair it, he couldn't leave it.
ɛ a 'zai̯sɛ na 'pandɔ 'garadʒɔ¦ i a na'prai 'pandɔ 'kɔłata¦
He took it to Pando's garage and Pando repaired the car.
da a na'praɛmɛ mu 'vɛlɛ¦ 'ta: sa'kaʃɛ (da) sɛ 'kupat ʒi'lɛza
"Let's do it", Pando replied. It needed parts to be bought
da mu sɛ 'kłaɛ 'tamɔ da sɛ na'praɛ¦ 'a: ɔ: (da) 'ɔi̯mɛ 'pandɔ
to be put it to repair the car. "Ah, Pando, let's go", he said,

---

1 rhetorical lengthening
2 either part of anacoluthon or for /e/
3 expected /o'tidva/
4 /kaj/

'rɛtʃɛ da i 'zɛmɛmɛ ɔd 'dɛa i 'zɛvaʃ ti¦ ɔi̯'dɔa na 'duk,anɔ
"to get them where you get them". And they went to the shop
ʃɔ prɔ'δava ʒi'lɛza i 'zɛa¦ 'pandɔ si 'rɛtʃɛ
that sells parts and they got them. Pando thought
mu i 'płati¦ 'toi̯ 'tʃɔɛkɔ¦ mu i 'zɛ 'pandɔ ʒi'lɛzata
he had paid him, the man, and Pando took the parts
mu a na'prai 'kɔłata ¦si a zɛ 'kɔłata¦ iz'bɛga ¦
and repaired the car for him. He took the car and went,
si ɔ'tiδɛ¦ 'tʃɛka 'toi̯ 'tʃɔɛkɔ da mu i 'płatɛ ¦ 'nɛma¦
he left. The man waits for him to pay him. Nothing.
ɔ'tiδɛ 'pandɔ da 'zɛva za 'ɛna 'druγa 'kɔła ʒi'lɛza¦
Pando went there to get parts for another car
mu 'vɛlɛ bɛ 'pandɔ 'kɔa k,ɛ 'płatɛ afstra'l,anɔ 'vɛlɛ¦
and he says to Pando, "When is the Australian going to pay?"
nɛ ti 'płati¦ nɛ¦ 'nɔgu 'pari 'bɛa¦ 'nɔgu 'pari 'bɛa¦
"Didn't he pay you?" "No." It was a lot of money, a lot.
ʒi'lɛzata sɛ 'skapi ɔt_'krai̯¦ i 'jaska:[1] si 'doi̯ 'pandɔ ¦
Parts have always been expensive. And I, Pando came one day.
'ku_znaɛ 'kakɔ 'zɛmɛ 'za_nɛɔ 'łaf ¦'vɛlɛ
I don't know how we got on to it, he said,
'vaka i 'vaka 'vɛlɛ sɔ 'jani 'vɛlɛ na 'mara
this and that. "That Yani, Mara, my cousin's Yani,
'vɛlɛ na bra'tʃɛδa mi nɛ mu i 'płati ʒi'lɛzata na toi̯ 'tʃɔɛkɔ¦
didn't pay that man for the spare parts.
'sɛa jaz da i 'płata ɔd 'dʒɛpɔ 'vɛlɛ¦
Now I have to pay for them out of my pocket.
mu 'płati 'vɛlɛ¦ 'ʃɔ da 'pra:¦ toi̯ iz'bɛga¦...¦
I paid for them. What else could I do? He's gone".
'ta: ɔt jugɔ'sławija a 'kupi¦ 'ama gɔ a prɔ'δaɛʃɛ a
He bought it in Yugoslavia. But he wanted to sell it
na tu'ristitɛ¦ 'trɛba da a na'praiʃ¦ 'ta: nɛ ɔ'δɛ(ʃɛ) ¦...¦
to the tourists. You have to repair it. It wasn't working.
'tua 'tua sa'kaʃɛ da a prɔ'δaɛ¦ i 'ta:mɔ[2] 'akɔ a prɔδa'δɛʃɛ
He wanted to sell it here. But even if he had wanted to sell
trɛ'baʃɛ da a na'praɛ¦ 'ta: nɛ ɔ'δɛʃɛ¦
it there he would have had to repair. It wasn't working.
a ra'sipa 'toi̯ dur da si 'oi̯¦ i ja 'stana na 'strina ti
He had ruined it by the time he left. And I went to your aunt

---

[1] rhetorical lengthening
[2] rhetorical lengthening

i mu 'vɛla¦ 'ama NN mu 'vɛla¦ 'ʃɔ mu na'prai 'jani na
and said, "NN, do you know what Yani did to Pando?"
'pandɔ¦ 'ʃɔ 'vɛlɛ¦ mu 'ɛla 'kɔłata ʃɔ mu a na'prai¦
"What?" she asked. I said: "The car that he repaired for him,
'zɛ 'ɛni ʒi'lɛza mu 'vɛla 'nɛ mu 'płati na 'tʃoɛkɔ¦
for some parts", I said, "he didn't pay the man,
mu 'ɛla¦ 'pandɔ i 'płati¦ sta'na: 'vija mu puʃ'tʃija 'kniga¦
Pando paid for them". Well, they went and sent them a letter,
puʃ'tʃija 'kniga¦ 'ka sɛ raz'bɛr 'braja 'nɛ_znam¦
they sent them a letter, what they discussed I don't know,
'ʃɔ mu 'pisa 'na_ni¦ i:[1] 'ɛδɛn 'dɛn zɛ'vaja ti'lɛfɔn
what he replied, well, one day they were ringing,
'ama nɛ'mamɛ pɔ 'kuk,itɛ¦...¦ 'ɛdnɔ 'uɣuł¦
but we didn't have telephones at home then, only one,
'sełtskɔ 'bɛʃɛ¦ pa 'nijɛ i'mamɛ 'ɛna li'vaδa 'ɔnak,i
the village one; now we had a meadow down there,
i nɔ'sɛmɛ 'kravitɛ¦ i mi 'vɛlɛ 'strina ti¦ 'ɛła 'rɛtʃɛ
we took the cows down there, and NN says to me, "Come
da prɛ'ɣɔriʃ sɔ 'mara¦ k,ɛ prɛ'ɣɔrɛmɛ 'tua ¦ti'lɛfɔn k,ɛ
with us to chat with Mara, we'll have a chat, he's going to
'zɛmɛ¦ 'oi̯δu jas 'tamɔ ¦prɛɣɔ'rija 'tija pɔ 'trɔa i mi
ring". I went with them and they chatted a bit and
vɛ'lɛ 'na: 'zɛmi[?] 'tɛta ti ¦ 'tɛtɔ 'ʃɔ_praiʃ¦
he said, "Here she is, your aunt". "Auntie! How are you?"
'arna¦ iz'lɛzɛ 'toi̯¦ 'tɛ'tɔ:¦ 'ʃɔ_praiʃ_mari 'tɛtɔ¦ 'arna si ¦
"Fine." He left. "Auntie, how are you Auntie? Are you well?
ʃɔ 'vɛlɛ¦ 'rɛtʃɛ¦ ɛ'mi mi 'rɛtʃɛ 'imało 'ɛdnɔ pa'rapɔnɔ
What is this", he said, "He said there was some complaint
'ɔd_mɛnɛ¦ 'rɛtʃɛ za: 'tijɛ 'paritɛ 'rɛtʃɛ za 'tɔa za 'kɔłata
about me", he said, "about the money", he said, "for that
ʃɔ mi a na'prai¦ mu 'vɛla:¦ ti 'znaiʃ 'ʃɔ
for the car that he repaired for me". I said to him: "You
pa'rapɔnɔ mu 'vɛla¦ nɛ pa'mɛtvaʃ¦ 'ami jas 'rɛtʃɛ
know what complaint it is", I said, "don't you remember?"
mu 'puʃtʃi na 'dɛδɔ 'pari¦ nɛ_'vi_i_daɛ¦
"But I sent the money to the old man, didn't he give it to
'puli da 'łaʒɛ¦ na ti'lɛfɔn da 'łaʒɛ¦ jas mu 'vɛla na: ¦'ako
you?" Just look how he can lie! On the telephone! I said:
'sakatɛ 'łafɛtɛ mu 'vɛla 'mɔʒ da 'łafɛ 'uʃtʃɛ¦
"If you want to, go on talking," I said, "he can go on talking"

---

[1] rhetorical lengthening

'sɛnɛ[1] 'takvi 'lug,ɛ 'nɛ ti sɛ 'lafɛ¦...¦
– after all, people like that, you don't feel like talking.
'nɔgu 'pari 'bɛa¦ 'nɔgu 'pari 'bɛa¦ 'i:¦ 'dɔi̯δɛ 'pa 'sɛtnɛ¦
It was a lot of money, a lot. And he came again later,
'ɔi̯δɛ vu jugɔ'slavija¦ 'brat_mu ma'ʒɛʃɛ 'tʃupa¦
he went to Yugoslavia – his brother was marrying a daughter.
pɔ'mina 'tua¦ 'nɛ_doi̯δɛ¦ ɣɔ 'viδu na 'patɔ¦
He passed by here – he didn't come in. I saw him in the
'ɛła 'jani 'ɛła¦ 'tri 'pati si 'dɔi̯ 'toi̯¦
street: "Drop in, Yani, drop in!" He came three times
'dva_pati sɔ ma'rija¦ 'ɛdnaʃ sam¦ 'ɛła 'jani¦
[to Kalenik], twice with Maria, once alone. "Drop in,
'ami 'toi̯ u'stramɛn jɛ¦ 'ka k'ɛ 'doi̯¦...¦ 'nɛ_doi̯δɛ¦
Yani," but he was ashamed. How could he come by? He didn't
drop in.
'sɛnɛ sɔ 'mara 'ftɔrjɔ 'pat 'sɛa zaba'ɛnɔ 'kɔa dɔi̯'δɔa¦
Later, with Mara, the second time, later, when they came
'pa ɔ vi'kamɛ¦ pa 'tɔɣai̯ 'umrɛ 'tanas
we invited him around again; that was when T. had died,
'brat_mu na 'łazɔ i nɛ stap'na: da 'rɛtʃat¦
Lazo's brother and they didn't set foot here to say
ai̯ da 'viδɛmɛ toi̯ 'tɛtin 'ʃɔ_praɛ¦ 'płatʃat¦
let's see that uncle of ours, how he is, they're in mourning,
da mu 'stɔrɛmɛ 'gai̯rɛt 'itʃ nɛ 'stapna ¦
to comfort him – he didn't set foot here at all.
'nitu 'mara 'nitu 'ɔn¦ 'itʃ¦ nɛ doi̯'δɔa¦...¦ 'nɔɣu 'łaʒɛ¦
Neither Mara nor he, they didn't come at all. He's a terrible
'nɔɣu 'łaʒɛ¦ 'nɛka mu ɛ 'ʒif ¦ da si 'ʒivat 'ama 'za_nas
liar. Good luck to him, may they live, but for us
'ɛdnaʃ nɛ sɛ 'ɔdnɔs [?] 'itʃ¦ mu 'vɛla na NN¦ da sɛ 'vlɛtʃka
once is enough. As I said to NN, "Let the boy crawl
'dɛtɛtɔ pɔd afto'k,ini mu 'vɛla da ɔ'sta[2] da mu 'praɛ
up and down under the car," I said, "let him repair [it]
'ama ʒi'lɛzata da mu 'kupɛ mu 'vɛla¦..¦
for him but he should buy the parts for him", I said.

---

1 for /setne/
2 expected /da o ostae/

7.1.4. *THE FIRST MACEDONIAN CHURCH IN AUSTRALIA*

This text is transcribed phonetically in IPA symbols.

'niɟɛ doj'ðɔme (..) na 'dvaɟista i 'ʃestta gɔ'dina vu af'stralija
We came to Australia in 1926
i 'taka ɔ'ðɛme pɔ 'tsərkvitɛ 'gərtsk,i 'rusk,i siri'jansk,i¦
and we used to go from one church to another - Greek, Russian, Syrian churches
'nɛ_nɛ sa'kaja¦ 'sɛkɔɟ 'saka 'ninata 'natsija (...)
They didn't like us, everyone likes his own people
¦ 'gərtsitɛ 'nɛ_nɛ sa'kaja i 'taka
The Greeks didn't want us and thus
'niɟɛ sɔ na 'sil,vija 'znaiʃ (...) 'tatkɔ mu 'nin
with Sylvia's - you know - Sylvia's father
i 'jas ɔti'ðɔmɛ na dər'ʒavata afstra'ljanska za da 'pitamɛ
and I went to [see] the Australian government to ask
'dali k,ɛ ni da:t 'pravo da si na'praɛmɛ 'naʃa 'tsərkva
whether they would give us the right to set up a church of
i 'tija ¦...¦ 'kɔga doj'dɔtɛ¦ 'naɪnti:n 'twɛntɪ sɪks¦
our own and they [asked:] "When did you arrive?" - "1926"
i 'taka 'rɛtʃɛ¦ k,ɛ vi 'kaʒɛmɛ 'niɟɛ k,ɛ vi 'puʃtʃɛmɛ 'kniga¦
and he [they] said: "We'll let you know, we'll send you a
i 'tija pu'lɛa (...) 'taka¦ 'dɛka 'dɔiðɛ¦
letter";and they investigated - this and that - when he came
na 'kɔɛ 'mɛstɔ 'pərvɛn ¦u 'kɔɟ grat¦ 'kɔku ra'bɔta[1] 'tamɔ ¦
- where he went first - to what town - how long he worked
na 'drugɔ 'mɛstɔ 'kɔku ɔ'tiðɛ ¦'kɔku ra'bɔta ¦
there, for how long he went somewhere else - how long he worked there.
ispu'lija 'sɛkaðɛ ¦mu 'ɛla¦...¦ 'samɔ za
They checked everywhere. Now I explained to them: "It's only
rɛ'li:dʒən i 'baramɛ ¦'naʃtɛ 'dɛtsa 'tuka
for religion that we want these things, for our children,
'kɔa k,ɛ sɛ (..?) i'zɔðat 'tuka va: 'tsərkva
when they ? here. This church
da 'bidɛ afstra'ljanska za 'naʃtɛ 'dɛca ¦
is to be an Australian one, for our children"

---

[1] apparently imperfective aorist; otherwise historic present

i 'taka 'tiɻɛ 'rɛtʃɛ[1] 'niɻɛ k,ɛ vi 'kaʒɛme¦
and so they said: "We'll let you know.
k,ɛ ɔ'pitamɛ dər'ʒavata i 'taka ɔti'dɔa ¦
We'll ask the government". And they went away
ɔpi'taa dər'ʒavata¦ stɔ'rija[2]¦ i ni puʃ'tʃija 'kniga¦
and asked the government and so on and sent us a letter
'mɔʒɛtɛ¦ 'rɛtʃɛ¦ da si na'praɛtɛ 'vaʃa 'tsərkva¦
"You are allowed – it said – to set up a church of your own.
'ama 'samɔ pɔli'tika nɛ k,ɛ ra'bɔtatɛ¦
But you are not to get involved in politics.
k,ɛ ra'bɔtatɛ¦ 'rɛtʃɛ¦ rɛ'li:dʒɔn ¦...¦
You are only – it said – to pursue religion".
'niʃtʃu nɛ'mamɛ niɻ 'tɔgaɻ ¦ni 'pari¦
[Now,] we had nothing then, no money either.
'tɔgaɻ doɻ'δɛni 'bərgu ¦i 'taka sɛ sɔ'bramɛ
We had only recently arrived then. And so we met
'dɛsɛd 'dvaɻsɛd 'duʃi¦ kła'dɔmɛ pɔ 'dvaɻsɛ 'liri
– ten or twelve of us – and each gave £2Ø
da ɔ prɛ'tʃɛkame vła'dikata¦ 'tuhʌndrɛd 'paɻnz sɔ'bramɛ¦
to invite the bishop for a visit. We collected £2ØØ.
'paɻn bɛa 'tɔɣaɻ ¦ i pi'same na vła'dikata ¦
It was pounds in those days. And we wrote to the bishop.
'bɛʃɛ u a'mɛrika¦ vɔɻ bɔ'gartsk,ijɔ vła'dika¦
He was in America – the Bulgarian bishop.
'toɻ 'rɛtʃɛ 'trɛba da 'ɔɻtɛ pɔ 'ɛδɛn vła'dika tsər'kvɛnsk,i
He said, "You have to submit to a bishop of the church",
¦ i 'niɻɛ mu 'ɛlɛme k,ɛ 'ɔɻmɛ pɔd bɔ'gartsk,ijɔ¦
and we said, "We'll submit to the Bulgarian one".
'toɻ 'bɛʃɛ u 'stari_kraɻ na 'turtskɔ 'vrɛme ¦...¦
He had been in the Old Country in Turkish times
i 'toɻ gɔ i'mamɛ ¦...¦ nɛ'maʃɛ 'tɔgaɻ¦ 'puliʃ¦
And so we had this one. In those days we didn't have, you see,
'niɻɛ 'bɛmɛ doɻ'dɛni 'małtsɛ i 'taka 'niɻɛ potʃ'namɛ¦
we had come as a small group and so we set to it.
sɛ'ga ¦'doɻdɛ vła'dikata i naɻ'dɔmɛ 'ɛδɛn 'tʃɔɛk
Now, the bishop arrived and we had found a man

---

[1] The predicate of the pronoun /tije/ is understood as /rekoa/; /reče/ is merely an expletive.
[2] expletive verb

ɔd 'naʃtɛ 'mɛsta 'tamɔ| 'utʃɛn 'trɔa |
from the Old Country. He had a little book-learning.
gɔ napra'ime 'pɔp |i mu kaʒ'vamɛ[1] 'niiɛ 'ɔti 'niiɛ smɛ
We had him consecrated a priest. And we said to him,
'małtsɛ| 'gərtsi 'ima 'nɔgu 'tua| 'niiɛ smɛ pɔd 'gərtska
"There are not many of us. There are lots of Greeks. We are
dər'ʒava |'akɔ 'gərtsitɛ na'utʃat |'mɔʒɛ da ni a ra'sipat| i
under Greek rule. If the Greeks find out, they might upset things
toi |'gʌvɛrnmɛnt ʌ'tɔrnati 'dʒɛnərəł 'bɛʃɛ|
and this government - he was Attorney General (...) -
i toi 'kaza|'gərtsitɛ nɛ 'mɔʒat 'niʃtʃu da 'pra:t 'tuka|
and he said, "The Greeks cannot do anything here,
'gərtsitɛ sɛ dɔi'δɛni| 'tuka af'stralja pɔ'ɛla|
the Greeks are new arrivals here, Australia is in charge here.
'akɔ 'viiɛ vi 'kaʒat 'gərtsitɛ 'nɛʃtʃɔ| 'dɔitɛ da ni 'kaʒɛtɛ
If the Greeks say anything to you, come and tell us.
'na_nas| ɔt 'kɔga stɛ 'viiɛ pɔd 'gərtsitɛ |'niiɛ smɛ| mu
How long have you been under the Greeks?"
'vɛlɛmɛ| ɔd dva'naista gɔ'δina| 'naɪnti:n twɛlv 'gərtsiia
"Since 1912", we said, "Greece came in 1912.
'dɔidɛ| 'niiɛ 'bɛmɛ pɔt 'turtsiia 'tɔɣai| 'turk|
We were under Turkey then, the Turk.
i 'dɔidɛ 'gərtsiia| ni i 'sɔbra 'knig,itɛ ɔt 'tsərkvitɛ |
And Greece came and collected the books from the churches
ɔt skɔ'linata| iz'gɔrɛ| i nɛ tɛ'raʃɛ na 'gərtskɔ da 'utʃɛmɛ
and the schools and burned them and drove us to learn Greek
|'pɔftɔr| i 'taka 'stari 'lug,ɛ i puʃ'tʃaʃɛ na 'skɔil,ɛ da
as a second language and so they sent old people to school
'utʃat 'gərtsk,i| i 'toi 'vɛlɛ[2]| i da 'dɔidat 'gərtsitɛ|
to learn Greek". And he said, "Even if the Greeks come,
nɛ 'mɔʒat 'niʃtʃu da vi pra:t |'tuka af'stralja 'dava 'pravɔ na
they cannot do anything to you. Here Australia gives everyone
'sɛkɔi 'ɛδɛn 'tʃɔɛk ʃɔ k,ɛ 'dɔiδɛ 'tuka da si 'ima 'nɪnɔ|
who comes here the right to preserve his own ways,
da si na'praɛ 'nina 'tsərkva| 'nini |nin 'ɛzik |i ka'zame
to set up his own church, his..., his language". And we said,
'taka 'niiɛ |mu rɛ'kɔmɛ 'akɔ na'utʃɛ 'kɔnzulɔ 'gərtsk,i
"Anyway", I say, "if the Greek consul finds out

---

[1] historic present
[2] historic present

i vła'dikata u 'sidni 'gərtsk,i¦ 'tiɟɛ k,ɛ 'doɟdat da vi sɛ
and the Greek bishop in Sydney, they'll come to complain to
pɔ'płatʃat¦ 'nɛka 'doɟdat¦ 'kaʒva¦ 'viɟɛ 'imatɛ 'pravɔ da si
you". "Let them come", he says, "You have the right to set
na'praɛtɛ na 'vaʃ 'ɛzik¦ 'sɛa 'niɟɛ 'nɛmamɛ[1] 'tsərkva¦ 'pɔp
up [a church] in your language". Well we didn't have a church,
'iɟamɛ¦ 'nɛmamɛ 'tsərkva¦ 'niʃtʃo 'nɛmamɛ ¦i ɔti'ðɔmɛ¦ (...)
we had a priest, [but] we had no church, we had nothing, so we went off (...)
'toɟ 'bɛʃɛ u 'stari_kraɟ u'tʃɛnɔ (...) ¦u 'stambuł 'bɛʃɛ
[The priest] had studied in the Old Country, in Stambul,
'tamɔ ¦u 'i'stam'buł¦(...) 'tam 'bɛʃɛ 'utʃɛn za 'pɔp
there, in Istanbul, there he had studied for the priesthood
a'ma[2] sɛ 'fati 'naɪnti:n 'ɛɟti:n 'pərfjɔ 'bɔɟ i 'taka toɟ
ɔ'stana
but in 1918 the first world war began and so he was left,
'sɛtnɛ¦ nɛ dɔ'utʃi ¦'ama 'bɛʃɛ 'małkɔ 'utʃɛn 'dɛmɛk¦ i ɔ
kła'ðɔmɛ 'nɛγɔ
he didn't finish, but he had studied a little, and we made him
'niɟɛ ¦'vɛlɛmɛ¦ 'sakamɛ da tɛ 'kłaɛmɛ 'pɔp ¦
[our priest]. "We", we said, "want to make you our priest.
ti 'mɔʒiʃ 'sakaʃ da 'dɔiʃ¦ 'kaʒva 'sakam 'jaska da pɔ'mɔʒa na
Do you want to join us?" And he says: "I want to help
'naʃiɟɔ na'rɔt[3] ¦'naʃiɟɔ mak,ɛ'dɔntsk,iɟɔ na'rɔt¦ mu 'ɛlɛmɛ¦
our people, our Macedonian people." And we said:
'niɟ 'nɛmamɛ 'tɔku 'pari da ti 'płatvamɛ 'sɛga¦ 'sɛa sɔ
"We don't have that much money to pay you now, for now
'małtsɛ ¦'kaza nɛ 'sakam 'itʃ¦ 'sɛa k,ɛ 'słuʒa
just a little". He said: "I don't want anything. I'll serve
'taka za 'baðiɟa¦ dɔ ka'tɔ[4] 'mɔʒɛtɛ¦ 'viɟ 'kɔk 'sakatɛ 'tɔku
like that, for free, until you can. However much you want,
'daɛtɛ[5] mi¦ i 'niɟɛ pɔ 'vrɛmɛ 'sɛa mu da'ðɔme 'tɛn 'paɟn
give me". And so now for that time we gave him £1Ø a week.
'wi:k¦mu 'vɛla¦ 'taka '[b]ɛʃɛ 'tɔγaɟ ¦'tɛn 'paɟn 'wi:k¦ i
It was like that then. £1Ø a week. And we worked

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[1] historic present
[2] expected stress ['ama]; here apparently interference from Bulgarian standard language
[3] stress as in Bulgarian standard language
[4] borrowing from Bulgarian standard language
[5] expected ['daðɛtɛ] or ['daɟtɛ] (cf. § 4.9.2.6, 4.9.5 above)

słu'ʒimɛ 'sɔnɛγɔ |ə:| 'tsərkva 'nɛmamɛ| i 'sɛa ɔti'ðɔmɛ na
with him. Uhh, we had no church, and so now we went to see
'tʃərtʃ əv 'ɪŋglʌn| na 'artʃi'biʃɔp 'dɔktɔr 'wud| si ɔ'tiðɛ
'toi̯ 'vaŋglija
the Church of England, Archbishop Dr. Wood, he's back in England now,
(...)| ɔti'ðɔmɛ 'na_nɛγɔ |mu 'vɛlɛmɛ |'nɛmatɛ 'nikɔa 'tsərkva
We went to see him and we said, "Don't you have some church
da ni 'rɛntatɛ sɔ 'rɛnta 'ali[1] da a 'kupɛmɛ 'ɔdvaska |za da
to rent to us or for us to buy from you so that we
si 'praɛmɛ 'naʃta rɪ'lidʒʌn |i 'toi̯| 'dɛka 'ʒivɛtɛ |'kaʒva|
can conduct our religion", and he says: "Where do you live?
'vaʃii̯ɔ 'narɔt| 'dɛka ɛ 'poi̯k,ɛ| 'nii̯ɛ 'vɛlɛme| 'sitʃk,itɛ[2] u
Your people, where are they mostly?" And we say, "We're all
'fitsrɔi̯| 'ɛvribɔdi 'fitsrɔi̯ 'tɔγai̯| u 'fitsrɔi̯
in Fitzroy" - everybody was in Fitzroy then - "in Fitzroy"
mu 'ɛl,ɛmɛ| i 'toi̯ i 'zɛva 'ɛna 'kniga na'pisva na
sənt'marks|
I said. And so he took out a piece of paper and wrote to St Mark's
'tua na 'dʒɔrdʒstri:t| na toi̯ 'pɔpɔ mu 'piʃɛ| da mu 'kaʒiʃ
here on George St, he writes to that priest, "Show the church
'tsərkvata 'rɛtʃɛ na 'vii̯ɛ 'lug,ɛ |i 'tii̯ɛ da 'słuʒat 'rɛtʃɛ
to the people", he said, "so that they can also worship
'tamɔ 'kɔa k,ɛ 'mɔʒat 'rɛtʃɛ vu 'naʃta 'tsərkva |'nɛma
'niʃtʃu 'rɛtʃɛ |i ɔti'dɔmɛ
there whenever they can (..)." "No problems", he said, and we
'nii̯ɛ kai̯ 'pɔpɔ| na 'dʒɔrdʒstri:t 'tuka| sʌn'marks 'tʃə:rtʃ| i
went to see the priest here on George St, St Mark's church.
a 'vidɛ toi̯ 'knigata| 'kaʒva 'ɛłatɛ|
And he looked at the piece of paper. "Come along", he said,
nɛ 'zɛ u 'tsərkvata| ni 'kaʒva| 'tsərkvata u'ba:|
he took us into the church, showed [it] to us, a beautiful
ɔ:| 'karpɛts| 'nai̯s| gɔ'lɛma 'tsərkva| 'nii̯ɛ sɛ 'płaʃimɛ[3]
church, oh, with carpets, nice, a large church, we took fright.

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[1] for /ili/

[2] apparently due to interference from Bulgarian standard language, expected: /səti/

[3] expected /'płašeme/ "we get a fright" (hist. pres.) or /płа'šime/ "we got a fright" (aor.)

k,ɛ mu a na'praɛmɛ ɔt 'svɛʃtʃitɛ ¦
We'll make [a mess of] his church with the candles,
'samɔ 'takvɔ¦ 'kɔi̯ k,ɛ 'tʃistɛ ¦'ka k,ɛ 'tʃistɛmɛ¦
just like that. Who will clean up, how will they clean up?
i nɛ 'pulɛ 'toi̯ 'tamɔ ¦mu 'vɛlɛme (...) ¦ bɛn'disvatɛ¦
And he looks at us there. We say (...)¦ "Do you like it?"
'rɛtʃɛ ¦'kakɔ ¦mu 'vɛlɛmɛ¦ 'va: jɛ 'tu 'gud¦ mu 'vɛlɛmɛ
he asks. "Like it?", we say, "This is too good", we say,
¦'za_nas ¦i'maʃɛ 'ɛdɛn 'tʃapɛł 'tamɔ¦ mu 'ɛlɛmɛ 'toi̯ 'tʃapɛł
"for us". There was a chapel there, we said: "Give us that
'dai̯ ni¦ 'dɔsta ni ɛ¦ da nɛ a 'bərkamɛ 'tsərkvata¦
chapel, that's enough for us, so that we don't make a mess
'nɔ 'nɔ 'nɔ¦ vła'dikata 'rɛtʃɛ 'tua¦ 'vaja ¦
in the church". "No, no, no, the Bishop said this one here,
'vaja da vi a 'daɛmɛ¦ a'mi 'sɛga¦ mu 'vɛlɛmɛ 'niɟɛ¦
we're to give you this one here". "Well then", we said,
'kɔku 'rɛnta k,ɛ ni 'sakatɛ¦ 'niɟɛ 'dali k,ɛ 'mɔʒɛmɛ da a
"how much rent will you want from us? Will we be able to
'płatvamɛ¦ 'niɟɛ smɛ 'małtsɛ 'sɛga¦ 'viɟɛ 'kɔku 'daɛtɛ¦
afford it? There are not many of us now". "Whatever you give
'rɛtʃɛ¦ 'niɟɛ da mu 'daɛmɛ 'małtsɛ 'dali k,ɛ ni a 'da:t
us", he said. [We thought:] If we give him little, will they
¦da mu 'daɛmɛ 'nɔgu 'nɛmamɛ¦
give it to us? But if we give him a lot – well, we can't.
i 'taka mu 'vɛlɛmɛ 'niɟɛ¦ 'sɛga za 'sɛga k,ɛ ti 'daɛmɛ 'ɛdna
And so we said to him, "For now we'll give you £1 a week.
'lira nɛ'δɛlata¦ 'sɛtnɛ 'akɔ 'mɔʒɛmɛ k,ɛ ti nat'katʃɛmɛ¦
Later, if we can, we'll increase that".
'dɔbrɔ¦ 'kaʒva ¦'dɔbrɔ ɛ¦ 'fatɛtɛ¦ i 'drugata nɛ'dɛla 'niɟɛ si
"Fine", he said. "That's fine. You can start". And the following
pɔtʃ'namɛ 'tamɔ¦ ka'zamɛ 'knig,i pɔ kła'pɔitɛ
week we began there. We put up notices around the clubs
'tuka 'sɛkaδɛ 'ɔti 'tsərkva 'ima makɛ'dɔntska¦
here everywhere that there is now a Macedonian church,
'sɛga pɔtʃ'nuvamɛ na 'svɛti 'markɔ 'słuʒɛmɛ¦
we're beginning now, we're worshipping at St Mark's.
'tamɔ słu'ʒimɛ 'rɛtʃisi 'tri gɔ'dini¦...¦ 'tri gɔ'δini słu'ʒimɛ
We worshipped there for almost 3 years (...), for three years
'tamɔ¦(...) ¦'naiɲnti:n 'fıfti pɔtʃ'namɛ¦ (...)
we worshipped there (...) We began in 195Ø.
i 'taka 'niɟɛ rabɔ'tamɛ 'tri gɔ'δini 'tamɔ ¦i 'toi̯ 'pulɛ 'ɛdɛn
And so we worked there for 3 years. And he watched for a

'mɛsɛts 'dva| małtsɛ smɛ| 'małtsɛ| 'małtsɛ|i 'toi̯ 'zbɔrvał sɔ
month or two. We're a small group, very few, and he spoke
'ninitɛ kɔ'miti | 'ɔti vɔi̯ 'narɔt 'małtsɛ ɛ |nɛ 'mɔʒɛ da
to his committee that these people are few, they can't
'płatva 'ɛdna 'lira| 'trɛba da mu na'malɛmɛ 'małku i |'vɛlɛ
afford £1, we'll have to reduce the rent, and he said,
|'jaska 'zbɔrvaf sɔ 'mɔi kɔ'miti 'pipəl i mu 'kazaf stɛ
"I've spoken to my committee people and I told them you're
'małtsɛ| 'ɛdna 'lira vi ɛ 'nɔgu 'na_vas|...| i 'taka mu
'vɛlɛmɛ
a small group, £1 is a lot for you (...)", and so we said,
|a'mi|'zbɔrvaf sɔ kɔ'miti| kɔ'miti 'mɔi̯|'mɔi̯ kɔ'miti |'kaʒva
"Well...". "I've spoken to my committee", he said,
| 'rɛʃi da vi os'taɛ 'fiftin 'ʃiliŋ wi:k |i 'nii̯ɛ smɛ 'nogu
and they decided to reduce the rent to 15/– a week." "We're
blaɣɔ'darni |mu 'vɛlɛmɛ| 'ɔdvaska| 'fiftin 'ʃiliŋ i 'sɛtnɛ
very glad", we said. "From you 15/–". And later
grɛ'δɛa 'lug,ɛ| sɛ namno'ʒimɛ 'nii̯ɛ| dɔi̯'dɔmɛ dɔ 'pɛδɛsɛ
more people came, we increased, we reached 5Ø or 6Ø,
'ʃɛɛsɛ 'duʃi| słu'ʒimɛ tri gɔ'δini 'tamɔ |dɔ ka'tɔ[1] si
we worshipped there for 3 years, until we found
'naɛmɛ[2] 'tsərkva |i i'maʃɛ 'sɛa 'tua na 'fitsrɔi̯ 'ɛdni
a church. Well, there were here in Fitzroy some
'kui̯k,i 'mɛstɔ rasi'panɔ i ɔti'δɔmɛ ɔ 'baramɛ 'tɔa 'mɛstɔtɔ|
houses, deserted blocks, and we went and asked for that spot.
'tɔa 'mɛstɔtɔ 'bɛʃɛ na 'næʃənəł bæŋk |ku'pɛnɔ |i mu
That place belonged to the National Bank, they had bought it,
'vɛlɛmɛ 'nii̯ɛ 'tɔa 'mɛstɔtɔ 'vii̯ɛ 'dali gɔ prɔ'daɛtɛ[3] 'tamɔ u
and we said to them: "Would you sell those blocks there in
'fitsrɔi̯ na 'fitsrɔi̯ 'stri:t| 'zaʃtʃɔ vi ɛ 'kaʒva|
Fitzroy, on Fitzroy St.?" "What do you want it for?" said [the
'ʃɔ 'sakatɛ da 'praɛtɛ| 'sakamɛ 'tsərkva da 'praɛmɛ|
man], "What do you want to build there?" "We want to build a
'akɔ ɔ 'sakatɛ za 'tsərkva| 'kaʒva|
church". "If you want it for a church", he said,
k,ɛ vi ɔ prɔ'δaɛmɛ| pa za'drugɔ 'nɛʃtʃɔ nɛ ɔ
"we'll sell it to you, but we won't give it to you for anything

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[1] from Bulgarian standard language
[2] for /'najdeme/ (historic present), cf. § 2.2.5
[3] expected /dali k'e go prodaete/

'davamɛ 'kaʒva ¦i ¦...¦ i 'taka 'kɔku k,ɛ ni 'sakatɛ¦
else", he said, and (...) so: "How much would you ask from
us?"
'tiɻa 'bɛa ¦'tɔa 'bɛʃɛ gɔ'lɛmɔ 'mɛstɔ 'tamɔ 'znaiʃ¦ 'kuɻk,i
They were.. that was a large place, you know, deserted houses,
rasi'pani 'mɔʒɛ i'maʃɛ 'sɛdum 'ɔsum 'kuɻk,i rasi'pani ʃɔ
maybe there were 7 or 8 deserted houses which we bought,
isku'pimɛ¦ 'mɛstɔtɔ rasi'panɔ 'taka ¦kła'δɛnɔ 'sɛ ¦'rɛtʃɛ¦ za
everything falling down, put in there [?]. He said: "For the
'tsɛłɔtɔ 'mɛstɔ pɛt i'l,adi 'liri 'sakamɛ ¦pɛt i'l,aδi ¦mu 'ɛlɛmɛ
whole place we want £5ØØØ, £5ØØØ". We said: "We don't
'niɻɛ 'nɛmamɛ 'sɛga smɛ 'nɔi 'lug,ɛ¦ 'nɛmamɛ 'tɔku 'pari da
have [that], you see, we're new arrivals, we don't have that
vi 'daɛmɛ ¦'nɔ 'akɔ ni ɔ ɔs'taɛtɛ 'trɔa 'pɔɛftino
much money to give you, but if you let us have it a little
i 'na_ispłata¦ da vi 'daɛmɛ 'nɛʃtʃɔ di'pɔzɪt¦
more cheaply, on repayments, we could give you a deposit of
da si ɔ 'płatvamɛ¦ 'nɛmamɛ 'pari mu 'vɛlɛmɛ 'niɻɛ ¦
some sort to pay it off. "We have no money", we told him,
i 'toɻ ¦'jas k,ɛ 'pitam 'rɛtʃɛ 'mɔi kɔ'mɪtimɛn i 'pitał 'toɻ
and he said: "I'll ask my committeemen", and he asked them.
¦'sɛtnɛ rɛ'ʃija 'fɔrʀaɣzənd 'fɪfti i 'kɔku 'imatɛ ¦'rɛtʃɛ
Later they decided £4Ø5Ø "and whatever you have", he said,
¦'tɔku 'daɛtɛ di'pɔzɪt¦ 'hʌndrɛd 'paɣn¦ 'hʌndrɛdfɪfti 'paɣn¦ i
"give us as a deposit - £1ØØ, £15Ø, and
'sɛtnɛ ¦'rɛtʃɛ¦ 'kɔku 'mɔʒɛtɛ 'płatvaɻtɛ ¦'rɛtʃɛ ¦nɛ vi
later", he said, "pay us whatever you can. We won't stretch
istɛ'zavamɛ¦ tʃɛ'tiristɔ'tini 'pɛδɛsɛ ni ɔsta'ija 'sɛtnɛ ¦i¦ i
you." We had 45Ø left over afterwards and
'kaʒva 'kɔku 'imatɛ
...he said, "However much you have, put
di'pɔzɪt 'tɔku 'kładɛtɛ ¦mu 'ɛlɛmɛ niɻɛ da 'viδɛmɛ 'kɔku
down as a deposit". We said: "We'll see how much
k,ɛ sɔ'bɛrɛmɛ ɔd 'narɔδo¦ da 'viδɛmɛ¦ i 'taka ¦ vik'namɛ
we can collect from the people, we'll see". And so we called
'mitiŋ¦ 'dʒɛnərəł 'mitiŋ ¦doɻ'dɔa 'lug,ɛ 'naʃi 'drug,i 'tamu *a*
meeting, a general meeting. People came, all sorts,
'vamu ¦sɔ'bramɛ 'blizu i'l,aδa 'liri 'tɔɣaɻ ¦ɛ ¦ 'niɻɛ da'δɔmɛ
and we collected nearly £1ØØØ. Each of us gave
pɔ 'stɔ 'liri ¦jaz 'dau 'stɔ 'liri¦ 'tatkɔ ti 'daδɛ 'pɛδɛsɛ 'liri
£1ØØ, I gave £1ØØ, your father gave £5Ø, others ...your
¦'drug,i 'dɛδɔ 'stɔ 'liri 'taka ¦'səti sɔ'bramɛ pɛt i'l,aδi 'liri
grandfather £1ØØ and so on¦ and altogether we collected £5ØØØ

ɛ i'l,aδa 'liri ¦i'l,aδa 'liri¦ i rɛ'kɔmɛ 'ɔti 'imamɛ da 'kłaɛmɛ
rather £1ØØØ¦ £1ØØØ¦ and we said, "Now we have something to
di'pɔzɪt sɛ'ga ¦mu 'vɛlɛmɛ 'niɟɛ 'sɛa k,ɛ ti 'daɛmɛ 'tɛbɛ
put down as a deposit". We said, "Now we're going to give you
i'l,aδa 'liri di'pɔzɪt¦ ɔd'dɛa 'imatɛ 'tɔku 'pari¦
£1ØØØ deposit". "Where do you have that much money from?!"
'rɛtʃɛ¦ i sɔ'bramɛ ɔd 'narɔdɔ mu'vɛlɛmɛ¦ i k,ɛ ti 'platɛmɛ
he said. "We collected it from the people", we said, "and we'll
'kɔku 'mɔʒɛmɛ ¦'nɔ 'wʌri 'rɛtʃɛ¦
pay you as much as we can". "No worries", he said.

7.2. LETTERS

The following letters were written in the 198Øs by an Australian Macedonian to her daughter. Since LK had no opportunity to learn the Cyrillic script, she wrote the dialect in Latin capital letters as well as she could. The text is here reproduced as in the original with an interlinear version in the phonemic representation used in this book. English lexemes are written in italics in the interlinear version. Vertical lines have here been added as punctuation to facilitate reading. Names have been deleted or abbreviated as initial + full stop. An interlinear translation is also provided.

7.2.1.

MILAMY KERKO ...I ZETO ...
miła mi k'erko ... i zetu...
My dear daughter ... and son-in-law...
VE POZDRAVAM NOGOU¦¦ DOBIF KARTATA¦ NOGOU SE
ve pozdravam nogu¦¦ dobif kartata¦ nogu se
I greet you warmly¦¦ I got the post-card¦ I was
IZRADVAF SHO NA OUTSIF SHOSTE DOBRI I SHO A VIDOTE
izradvaf šo naučif šo ste dobri i šo a vidote
very happy to find out that you are well and that you saw
N.D. I A.¦¦A. MI DOIDE ZA 2 VETSERI¦ OTIDE KAY MITRA¦¦
...¦A. mi dojde za 2 večeri¦¦ otide kaj Mitra¦
...¦A. came for 2 nights¦ he went to Mitra's¦
S. NEMA DOIDENO NAZAT¦ MOU RINGAM I TOI RINGA AMA
S. nema dojdeno nazat¦ mu ringam i toj ringa ama
S. has not come back¦ I ring him and he rings but
PAK SE SMESTI OT TAMO¦ F. OTIDE ZA DARVOUN ZA 2
pak se smesti ot tamo¦ F. otide za *Darwin* za 2

he has moved again from there! F. has gone off to D. for two
MESETSI! DOBRA SOUM SO ZADRAVIETO! SAMO ZA OTSITE
meseci! dobra sum so zdravijeto! samo za očite
months! I am well with my health! it's only my eyes
SHO NEZNAM KAKO 2Ø DOKTOURI ME VIDOA I 9 STOUDETI!
šo neznam kako 2Ø dokturi me vidoa i 9 studenti!
that I don't know how 2Ø doctors saw me and 9 students!
MIREKOA NAMA LEK! KEME POULAT SEKOY 6 MESETSI!
mi rekoa nema lek! k'e me pulat sekoi 6 meseci!
they told me there is no cure! they are going to check me every 6 months
SAMO DESNOTO OKO E SLABO! MISE POULE BES OCHILA!
samo desnoto oko e słabo! mi se pule bes očiła!
only my right eye is weak! I can see without glasses
POZDRAF OT TETATI L.! GA ZE KARTATA OT ANTY L.!
pozdraf ot tetati L.! ja ze kartata ot *Aunty L.*
Love from your aunt L.! Mitra got the card from Aunty L.!
MITRA! DENES IMAME TOPLO! 19! OTRE 21 TOPLO!
Mitra! denes imame topło! 19! utre 21 topło!
Today it is warm! 19°! tomorrow 21°!
ZA ZIMA PRAE VREMETO! *LOVE FROM MUM!*
za zima prae vremeto! *Love from Mum!*
Weather as if for winter! [?]! *Love from Mum*
[PS:] *ACUTE POSTERIOR (...)* !VOAE SHO MY IMAT OTSITE!
acute posterior (...) !voa e šo mi imat očite!
acute posterior (...)! That is what is wrong with my eyes.
INFEKTION OT MALA
infection ot mała
infection from when I was little.

7.2.2.

MILAMY KERKO ...I ZETO ...
miła mi k'erko ...i zetu ...
My dear daughter... and son-in-law..
DAVE POZDRAVA NOGOU YIAS *MUM!*
da ve pozdrava nogu jas *Mum!*
Let her send her regards to you, me, Mum!
I POZDRAF OT S.! SI DOIDE SNOSHCHE...!
i pozdraf ot S.! si dojde snošči!
and love from S.! He came back home last night!

GO ESTERA ZENATA¦ DOBOR SE POULE¦ RECHE NE SE IMA
go istera ženata¦ dobor se pule¦ reče ne se ima
the woman threw him out¦ He looks well¦ He said he has
POBOLENO *TA CH VOUT* ¦¦ VI POUSHCHAM VESNIK OT
poboleno *touch wood* ¦¦ vi puščam vesnik od
not been sick¦ Touch wood!¦¦ I'm sending you a paper from
DRAMATA¦¦ KADRO NEMAM SHO MOU IGRAF NA KINK
dramata¦ kadro nemam šo mu igraf na *King*
[on] the play¦ I don't have a photo from when I posed for King
FAROUK KADRAGIATA¦ POSETNE DOIDE ZA VESNIKO¦
Farouk kadražijata¦ posetne dojde za vesniko¦
F. the photographer¦ Later it [he?] came for the newspaper
I DROUGI IGRI IMASHE SHO ZENITE ¦ BEME 5 ZENI¦¦
i drug'i igri imaše so ženite¦ beme 5 ženi¦¦
There were other games with the women¦ There were 5 of us¦¦
POZDRAF OT TETA L.¦ TAMO BEF SEGA (...)¦¦
pozdraf ot teta L.¦tamo bef sega (...)¦¦
Aunt L. sends her love¦ I was there just now¦¦
S. IZLEZE¦ IMA DROUGA CHOUPA OT TAMO DEGA BESHE¦
S. izleze¦ ima druga čupa ot tamo dea [deka?] beše¦
S. has gone out¦ He has another girlfriend from the place where he was
TA TOUKAE VOU *MELBOURNE*¦¦ SO OCHITE I TETA T.
taa tuka e vu *Melbourne*¦¦ so očite i teta T.
She is here in Melbourne¦¦ As for the eyes your Aunt T.
VELAT DOKTOURITE KAKO MENE ¦NE SAKAT TSELI DANE
velat dokturite kako mene ¦ne sakat celi da ne
the doctors say like me¦ The doctors want to see
VIDAT DOKTOURITE¦¦ VIE KAKOSTE SO Z.¦¦
vidat dokturite¦¦ vije kako ste so Z.¦¦
all of us¦ How are you and Z.?¦
KAKOSI TI SO ZABITE¦¦ NESOU TOKOU LOSHO SO OCHITE¦
kako si ti so zabite¦¦ ne su toku lošo so očite¦
How are your teeth?¦¦ My eyes are not such a problem¦
MISE POULE¦ DANE BERIS GAILE S.¦
mi se pule¦da ne beriš gajle S.¦
I can see¦ Don't worry, S.¦
SO ZDRAVIETO SOUM DOBRA¦¦ IMA LOUIGE PO LOSHO¦
so zdravijeto sum dobra¦¦ ima lug'e po lošo¦
My health is good¦¦ Some people are in a worse state¦
NESE PLASHA¦¦ JOULY SE OSTAY SO MOMSHETO¦¦
ne se plaša¦¦ *Julie* se ostai so momčeto¦¦
I'm not scared¦¦ Julie has separated¦¦

M. OT L. IE NOGOU RADOSNA SEGA
M. ot L. je nogu radosna sega
M. from L. is very happy now
SHOSE SHIFTAYIA SO ... I SO DETSATA¦
šo se šiftaja so ... i so decata¦
that she and ... and the children moved¦
SAMO SI PEAT¦¦ SO DOBRO DAVE NAMERE[1] PISMOTO¦
samo si peat¦¦ so dobro da ve namere pismoto¦
They are singing now [?]¦¦ May this letter find you in good health

LOVE FROM MUM

[PS.:] BOK DA OPROSTE SVEKRTY
bog da oproste svekorti
God rest your father-in-law's soul

7.2.3.

MILAMY KERKO ... I ZETOU ...
miła mi k'erko ... i zetu ...
My dear daughter... and son-in-law...
KAKOSTE ¦ SAMO CHEKAM PISMO NEMI GREDE OT VAS¦
kako ste¦ samo čekam pismo¦ ne mi grede ot vas¦
How are you?¦ I'm just waiting for a letter [but] there isn't one from you
DENES 13-2-89 SI VELA DA PISHA TROA MALO PISMO ¦¦
denes 13.2.89 si vela da piša troa mało pismo¦¦
Today 13.2.89 I say to myself that I'll write a little
DOBRA SOUM ¦¦ IZLEGOUF EXERIS NA GLAVATA[2] I NA
dobra sum ¦¦ izleguf *x-rays* na gła(v)ata i na
I'm well¦¦ I had x-rays made of my head and my
VRATO ¦ GLAVATA E ARNA ¦ SAMO VRATO IMA ATHRAITES
vrato ¦ gła(v)ata e arna ¦ samo vrato ima *arthritis*¦
neck ¦ My head is well¦ only the neck has arthritis¦

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[1] expression apparently due to lexical interference from Bulgarian standard language, expected *da ve najde knigata*

[2] restoration of historical intervocalic /v/ apparently due to influence of standard language

NE NOGOU ¦TROA ¦ NEME BOLE¦¦ A. MY DOIDE NA SPAINE
ne nogu ¦ troa ¦ ne me bole¦¦ A. mi dojde na span'e
not much¦ just a little¦ I have no pain¦ A. came to sleep
EDNA VECHER¦ NEZNAM ZA S. DEKA E¦¦ AREN IE A. ¦ SI
edna večer¦ ne znam za S. deka e¦¦ aren je A. ¦ si
for one night¦ I don't know where S. is¦¦ A. is well¦
RABOTAR ¦ BEF NA SVADBA ZA NA J. I D. 1Ø-2-89 ¦
rabota ¦¦ bef na svadba za na J.i D. 1Ø.2.89 ¦
He's working ¦¦ I went to the wedding for J. & D. 1Ø.2.89¦
NOGOU OUBAO BESHE ¦ DO 5Ø LOUIGE¦¦ NEKOSI MI DOIDE
nogu ubao beše ¦ do 5Ø lug'e¦¦ neko[j] si mi dojde
It was wonderful¦ up to 5Ø people¦¦ Someone or other came
VOU BAGOLO¦MI SKRSI VRATA DEINA AMA NE ZEA NISCHO
vu *bungalow*¦ mi skərši vrata [-?] ama ne zea niščo
into my bungalow¦ broke a door [& ?] but didn't take anything
AKO IMAYIA NESCHO SKRIENO VOU TOULITE ¦¦
ako imaja neščo skrijeno vu tulite ¦¦
If they had hidden something in the bricks [?]¦¦
TETA T. I L. KE ODAT VOU ROUSIA ZA TOURIS
teta T. i L. k'e odat vu Rusija za *tourist*
Auntie T. and L. are going to Russia as tourists
ZA 1Ø NEDELI (...)
za 1Ø nedeli (...)
for 1Ø weeks (...)

7.2.4.

MILAMY KERKO ... I ZETOU ...
miła mi k'erko ... i zetu ...
My dear daughter... and son-in-law...
NA OUTSETE[1] SEGA SOUM DOBRA ¦ MI POMINA STOUTA ¦
naučete sega sum dobra ¦ mi pomina stut[t]a¦
Learn that I am now well ¦ My cold passed¦
IMAF ZA 2 MESETSI ¦¦ SE OUTSA ZA VAS ¦
imaf za 2 meseci ¦¦ se uča za vas ¦
(which) I had for 2 months¦¦ I find out about you
SE KARTATA OT KANADA I KNIGATA SO 5 DOLARY I
ze kartata ot Kanada i knigata so 5 dolari i
I got the card from Canada and the letter with $5 and

---

[1] apparently a set phrase used to begin letters in Greek

KARTATA OT AMERIKA DENES GA ZEF 15-8-89 I BEME SO
kartata ot Amerika denes ja zef 15-8-89 ¦i beme so
the card from America I got today 15.8.89¦ and we went with
L. KAY F. ZA JOHN BERDAY ¦ 6 GODINI ¦ I BEF KAY
L. kaj F. za *John's birthday* ¦ 6 godini ¦ i bef kaj
L. to F.'s for John's birthday¦ 6 years (old)¦ and I went to
M. PRIATELKATA ¦ TE POZDRAVA I STRINATI L. ¦
M. prijatelkata ¦ te pozdrava i strina ti L.¦
my friend M.'s place¦ also your aunt L. sends her love
MOU RINGAF NA CHICHE P. ¦ NOGOU RADOSNA E ANTY
mu ringaf na čiče P. ¦ nogu radosna e *Auntie*
I rang Uncle P.¦ Auntie M. is very happy that
M. SHO MOU BETE NA POSEDOK ¦ I SE NAOUCHIF SHO
M. šo mu bete na posedok¦ i se naučif šo
you visited them¦ and I heard as you
PISHIS SHO BESHE BERBER ¦DALY GA VIDE J. ¦¦
pišiš šo beše berber¦ dali ja vide J.?¦
write that you went to the barber's [?]¦ Did you see J.?¦
KOGA KE ODETE VOU BOUGARIA DA POZDRAVISH A.¦¦
koga k'e odete vu Bugarija da pozdraviš A.¦¦
When you go to Bulgaria, give my regards to A.
S. MI RINGOUVA NA BRGOU ¦ A. ZABORAVA ¦YIAS MOU
S. mi ringuva na bərgu ¦ A. zaborava ¦ jas mu
S. rang me the other day¦ A. keeps forgetting¦ I rang
RINGAF ¦ AREN BESHE ¦ POMINA NA EXZEMS ¦ TETA T.
ringaf ¦ aren beše ¦ pomina na *exams* ¦ teta T.
him¦ He was well¦ He passed his exams¦ Aunt T.
OTIDE VOU KALENIK ¦ TETA F. FATY RABOTA ¦ F.
otide vu Kalenik ¦ Teta F. fati rabota ¦ F.
left for Kalenik ¦ Aunt F. found a job ¦ F.
BESHE NA SNEGO ¦ BAINOTO MI GO SFRSHI F. NO OUBAO¦
beše na snego ¦ ban'oto mi go sfərši F. no[gu] ubao¦
has been to the snow¦ F. finished the bathroom for me very well
SEGA ROUMO GO BOISFAME SO DETSA OT TSRKVATA ¦
sega *roomo* go boisvame so deca ot cərkvata ¦
we have been painting the room with young men from the church
POZDRAF OT (...)
pozdraf ot (..)
Regards from (...)

8. LEXICON

The Lexicon contains some 2,250 items. Lexemes were included if they occurred with a certain frequency in everyday conversation. Words that occurred only once were included if they could be verified with sufficient certainty, either by checking with the speaker or with another speaker. The vocabulary of the dialect is, of course, an open list, and the items recorded here reflect to a certain extent the individual interests of the informants and the circumstances under which the material was collected. Only senses that occurred in conversation or were elicited are included as glosses. Any lexeme might conceivably have other senses not recorded here.

In glosses, parentheses indicate alternative or variant forms. Additional information is placed in brackets [].

Verbs are indicated by the abbreviations *"pf"* (if perfective) and *"ipf"* (if imperfective) + conjugational class (cf. § 4.9.0.2 above). Aspect partners listed under the same heading may belong to different *Aktionsarten*. In some cases the aorist of a particular verb did not occur in the material and could not be reliably elicited. In such cases it was not always possible to classify the verb by conjugation. Derived verbs are normally listed under the simplex forms, since derivation is intimately connected with the formation of aspect partners, which may be considered part of inflexion (cf. § 4.9.1 above).

Proper nouns are not normally included in the lexicon, except for the names of important countries.

English transfers used in the dialect in Australia are not included. Similarly, Greek words such as *ēlikía* "age", *kafetería* "café", *koúrsa* "car", *leōforeío* "bus", *mpar* [bar] "bar", *nomarxía* "county council", *parápono* "complaint", *portokaláda* "orangeade", *príza* "powerpoint", *reúma* "electricity", *sýntaksi* "pension", *tēleórasi* "television", *psygeío* "refrigerator", *fóro* "tax", although frequent in everyday speech in the village, are not included. They can be classified as transfers (cf. Clyne 1967, 19). Only Greek words for traditional concepts are included, such as /prika/ "dowry" < *proíka* (native term: /ruo/), /tərndafil/ "rose" < *triantáfyllo*, since they can be classified as loan-words.

Such words, while occurring in examples, are not usually listed below.

Variants were included if they were sufficiently wide-spread. Lexemes are normally listed under the most common variant. Where no gloss is given, readers are referred to a synonym.

Otherwise, cross-references indicate synonyms, antonyms, related words or a quotation containing the lexeme in question.

Words are listed in phonemic representation. As a rule, sandhi is indicated in quotations. Stress is indicated only when it cannot be deduced from Chapter 3. Plural and definite forms of nouns are given only when they cannot be predicted from the simple form. Prefixed verbs are normally listed under the simplex. Certain categories of words, such as numerals, personal and possessive pronouns, forms of the verb *e* "to be", which are listed exhaustively in Chapter 4, are not included in the lexicon, unless they have other uses that are of lexicographic interest.

In glosses, close synonyms are separated by a comma, more distant synonyms or different lexical meanings are separated by a semi-colon. Homonyms are treated under separate keywords[1].

It was not always possible to determine with complete certainty whether a given lexeme has /l/ or /ł/. In doubtful cases /l/ is used.

ABBREVIATIONS [2]

adj	adjective	*adv*	adverb
ant	antonym	*aor*	aorist
att	attenuative *Aktionsart*	*attr*	attributive(ly)
c	count noun	*coll*	collective
conj	conjunction	*def*	definite (form with article)
derog	derogatory	*dim*	diminutive
f	feminine	*fam*	familiar
imper	imperative	*ips*	impersonal
impf	imperfect	*in*	inchoative *Aktionsart*, pf.
ind	indeclinable	*int*	interrogative
intj	interjection	*ipf*	imperfective
itr	intransitive	*lit*	literally
m	masculine	*mod*	modal (verb)
n	neuter	*nc*	non-count noun

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[1] The distinction between polysemy and homonymy is, of course, a moot point.

[2] cf. also § 1.1Ø

nf	noun, feminine	*nn*	noun, neuter
nm	noun, masculine	*nm&f*	noun, either masculine or feminine (i.e. epicene)
nom.act	nomen actionis	*num.card*	cardinal numeral
num.ord	ordinal numeral	*onomat*	onomatopoeia/ic
orig	originally	*part*	particle
pf	perfective	*pl*	plural
pl2	second plural	*pl3*	third plural, collective plural
plt	plurale tantum	*poss*	possessive
pp(p)	past participle (passive)	*pres*	present
prn	pronoun	*prop*	proper (noun)
prp	preposition	*rec*	reciprocal
rfl	reflexive	*sat*	satiative *Aktionsart*, pf.
sb	substantive (noun)	*sg*	singular
sgt	singulare tantum	*term*	terminative *Aktionsart*, pf.
tr	transitive	*usu*	usually
var	variant form	*vipf*	verb, imperfective
vitr	verb, intransitive	*voc*	vocative
vpf	verb, perfective	*vtr*	verb, transitive

aber nm "news" /mi dojde aber/ "I heard..."; /loš a. (dobor a.)/ "bad news (good news)"
ábrée "gee whiz, whacko" [exclamation of surprise, incredulity, admiration] cf. /bre/
adet nm "tradition; way of life"
afstrálija nf "Australia"
afstral'anec nm afstral'anče dim afstral'anka nf "Australian"
aha intj "yes" cf. 2.2.1, 6.3.5
airlija adj.ind "successful; auspicious" /a. (da vi e) pato/ "Bon voyage!" /a. da ti e rabotata/ "I wish you success in your work!" /a. se stori bobo/ "The bean-soup has turned out well"
ajde intj "come on!" cf. 6.4.4
ajvan nm "animal"
akčija nm akčika nf "cook, caterer"

ako 1 conj "if" /ako te fateme zá_pərtali, nadvur k'e se najdiš/ "If we get hold of you, you'll be out on your ear"
ako 2 conj "although, even if"
ako 3 intj "no matter!"
ała conj "but" cf. 6.2.1
ałaf adv "of advantage, welcome" /a. neka mu se/, /ałav da mu se/ "He's welcome to them", "May he prosper with them", "Good luck to him!" cf. /aram/
ałásandek intj "Heaven forbid!"
ałva nf "halva, halvah, halwa"
ama 1 conj "but" cf. 6.2.1.2
ama 2 conj "if" cf. 6.2.2.3
amán intj "oh dear" /a., oti ne me opita/ "Oh dear, why didn't you ask me (first)?"
ambar nm "barn [for grain]" cf. /plevna/
amí intj "well of course; told you so" cf. /éemí/
andak nm andačka dim "drain"
anǯak, anǯák part "scarcely, just" /a. i svəršif/ "I could hardly finish them"; /a. šo se vərna/ "He just got back"; /a. šo živéme/ "We hardly made a living" cf. /udvae/
ang'eł nm "angel"
anterija nf "long thin coat"
ap nm "tablet"
aps nm "prison" /v a./ "in prison"; /tamo beše a./ "He was in prison there"; /za v a./ "under arrest" cf. /apsana/
apsana nf "prison" /v(u) apsanata/ "in prison"
aram adv "bad, shameful" /aram da ti e/ "May it do you no good!", "You should be ashamed of yourself!" cf. /ałaf/
aramija nm&f "robber"
arč arǯo nm "expense; purchase" /si praiš a./ "You go to great expense"; /si o vadat arǯo/ "They make a living"
arǯe ipf.tr&itr.B6 iz-, po-arǯe pf iz-, po-arǯi aor "spend; shop" /šo mari arǯiš pari/ "Why do you spend money [on such things]?"
aren arna adj "good; well" /a. čoek/ "a good fellow"; /a. (arna) su/ "I'm well"; /arno ama..../ "yes, but...; well now..."; /arno stori/ "You did the right thing"
argat, argatin nm "worker"
argavan nm "lilac" /bel a./, /sin a./
armas nm "engagement"
armasa pf.tr A armasva ipf A armasa aor "engage to marry" rfl. "get engaged"; /armasan/ "engaged"; /armasan za vang'elica/ "engaged to Vangelica"

armasnik nm armasnika nf "fiancé"
aršin nm "yard" [unit of length]
artərma adj.ind "spare, left over"
ask'er nm ask'erče dim ask'erck'i adj "soldier; army; army service" /otide a./ "He went off to the army";/a. pomina/ "He did his military service";/čupite nogu i sakaa ask'erite/"The girls were very fond of soldiers"
aslí adj.ind "genuine" /a. majka (tatko)/ "natural mother (father)"; /a. gərk/ "a real (ethnic) Greek" cf. /sərfí/
ašładisa pf.tr A ašładisva ipf A "graft"
ašłama nf "graft"
aukát nm "lawyer"
aur nm "cowshed"
ava nf "air, climate" /ubaa a. imate/ "You have a good climate [here]"; /a. ima, tava nema/ "You can't live on air"
avlija nf "fence"
baba nf "grandmother" [also man's mother-in-law, i.e. wife's mother, cf. /svekərva/; also used to refer to any woman two generations older] cf. /strina/
babari plt "New Year's revellers"
babe intj "Grannie's boy, girl" [term of endearment used by grandmother when addressing grandchild] cf. /majče/
babek nm "cotton; cotton wool"
babica nf "midwife"
bábini prikask'i plt "old wives' tales"
bace pf.tr B6 bacva ipf A baci aor "kiss" cf. /bakne/
bače nn "small water jug, flask" cf. /stomna/
bademm nm "almond"
bádija adv "in vain, for nothing" [only in the expression /za bádija/ "for nothing; in vain"] cf. /ǯaba/
baǯanak nm "brother-in-law" [wife's sister's husband] cf. /šura/
baǯo cf. /baǯanak/
bae ipf.itr B6 zabae pf bai, zabai aor "cast a spell, heal by magic" /bajačkata mi bai/ "I was treated by a sorceress"; /mu zabai edna žena/ "He was treated by a sorceress" Cf. /počudišče/
bagrem nm "acacia"
bajač nm bajačka nf "magician, sorceress"
bajat adj "stale, rancid" /bajata mas/ "rancid butter"; /bajato masło/ "rancid oil"
bajsik nm bajsiče dim "bicycle"
bakar nm "copper"

bakaren adj "copper" [attr.] /bakarena tepsija/ "copper pan"
bakčiš nm cf. /bakšiš/
bakła nf "broad beans"
bakne pf.tr B1 bakna aor "kiss" cf. /bace/
bakšiš nm "present" /dobiv golem b./ "I got a big present"
bała nf "bale"
bałtak nm bałtiče dim "axe" /dərvoto o cepe so baltak/ "He chops the wood with an axe"
ban'a nf "bathroom"
ban'o nn cf. /ban'a/
bapka nf "type of capsicum"
bara ipf A pobara pf A "look for; ask for"
barem part "at least" /b. edno neščo da mi donesiš/ "Bring me at least something"; /ne vika barem/ "At least he isn't noisy"
basma nf "cloth"
bašča nf "kitchen-garden"
baška adv "separately" also /ná_baška/
batakčija nm batakčika nf "lazybones; cheat" /golem b./ "a great cheat"
bate nm [voc. only] "brother" [term of address for brother; obsolescent]
be intj (reinforces statement) cf. 6.3.9
bebe nn "baby"
bečvi plt "trousers [folk costume]"
bega ipf A izbega pf A izbega aor "go away, leave" /k'e begame/ "we're leaving"
begałka nf "woman who elopes"
bek'ar nm "bachelor"
bela nf "trouble" /si kłavam b. vu głaata/, /si a pativ belata/ "I got myself into trouble" cf. /zijan/
belegʒija nf cf. /belegzija/
belegzija nf "bangle"
beleška nf "mark"
beleže pf.tr B6 beležva A ipf beleži aor "note, mark; vaccinate"
belk'i part "maybe; don't you agree?" /b. k'e dojde/ "I suppose he'll come"; /vaa godina troa ni zavərna b./ "It didn't rain much this year, did it?"
beł adj "white; fair, blond" /beło meso/ "white meat"; /beła žena/ "fair-skinned woman"; /beła kosa/ "grey hair"
bełka nf "white [of egg]"
bendisva ipf.tr & itr A bendisa pf bendisa aor "please; like" /ne

mi bendisa dramata (ne a bendisaf dramata)/ "I didn't like the play"; /me bendisa ninata kuk'a/ "I liked their house"
berber nm "barber"
bere ipf.tr&itr B1 "pick; collect; contain" /se berat/ "They meet"; /ne b./ "It's not big enough"; /mi b./ "It fits me"; /ne beri gajle/ "Don't worry!" cf /so-, raz-/
berik'et nm "crop"
beter adj.ind "bad, worthless, wretched"
bez prp "without" cf. /čerek/
bičk'ija nf "saw"
bije ipf.tr&intr B4 izbije pf izbi aor "beat"
bijoł nm "buffalo"
bijołck'i adj "buffalo" [attr.]
bilka nf "medicine; chemical"
bimbil nm "nightingale"
bina nf "building"
bira nf "beer"
biše nn bišence dim "piglet" cf. /prase/
biška nf "pig" cf. /kərmnak/
biškar nm biškarka nf "swineherd"
biškoti plt "biscuits"
bišk'i adj "pig's" /biško meso/ "pork" cf. /bišk'in/
bišk'in adj "of a pig" (no masc. form) /bíšk'ina koža/ "swine's leather"; /bíšk'ino meso/ "pork" cf. /bišk'i/
bizel'a plt "peas" cf. /grašina/
blaʒeti intj "half your luck!" (also /blaʒevi/ [pl.]; /blaʒemu/ "Half his luck!" etc.
blee ipf.itr B "bleat" /jagneto b./
blisku adv "nearby" /b. e sełoto/ "the village is nearby" cf. /blizu/
blizen blizna adj "close" /blizen soj/ "closely related family" cf. daleč en
bliznar nm bliznarka nf "twin" cf./bliznare/
bliznare nn "twin"
blizu adv "nearby" /b. e sełoto/ "the village is nearby"; /b. žive sestra mi/ "my sister lives nearby"; /sobrame b. il'ada liri/ "We collected nearly £1ØØØ" cf. /blisku/
bližee ipf.itr B "approach" /božik b./ "It'll soon be Christmas"; /b. [ips.] da si dojde/ "He'll soon be here"
blua ipf.rfl A izblua A pf izblua aor "vomit" /ako se prejadiš, k'e se izbluaš/ "if you overeat, you'll vomit"; /se izblua/ "he vomited"
blut bludo nm "kneading-board"

błagodaren -darna adj "satisfied (/so/ = with)"
błagoščoen'e nn "Annunciation"
błak błaga adj "sweet" /błag'i sonoi/ "Sweet dreams"
błato nn "swamp"
bočva nf "keg, barrel, tub"
bogat adj "rich, wealthy"
boisva ipf.tr A "paint"
boj nm "fight; war" /b. praea so kamen'a/ They fought with stones"; /k'e jadiš boj/, /k'e fatiš boj/ "you'll cop it" cf. /k'otek/
boja nf "colour"
bojče nn "skirt"
bok nm "God" /bog da čua/ "God forbid!"; /bože zlaten/ "For goodness' sake!" cf. /gospo/
bole ipf.tr B6 "hurt" /o b. polun'ata/ "His back aches"; /ne me b./ "It doesn't hurt" cf. /pobole/
bolen bołna adj "sick"
boles nf bolest-i, -ini pl "sickness, disease" /sekakvi bolesti/ "all sorts of diseases"; /a g'iba b./ "She gets sick, suffers from an illness"
bolivač nm "chamomile"
bolka nf "pain"
bołničaf -ničaa adj "ailing, sickly"
bongur nm "bulgur, burghul"
bop bobo nm bopče dim "beans; bean-soup" /beł b./ "lima beans, haricot beans"; /zelen b./ "green beans"
borae ipf B6 izborae pf "stir; tease" /izborai [imper.] a manǯata/ "Stir the meal!"; /te boraat lug'eto/ "People tease you"
borč nm borčo, -rǯo def "loan" /ima nogu borčoi, ne može da se isplate/ "He has lots of debts, he can't pay them off"
borǯe, borče ipf.tr B6 zaborǯe,-če pf zaborǯi,-či aor "borrow, rfl.: take a loan" /mi borčeše ama mi i vrati/"He borrowed from me, but he has returned it all to me";/mu borčef ama mu i dadu/ "I borrowed from him but returned it"
boričkа ipf.tr A izboričkа pf A "mix, stir"
bos adj "bare-foot"
bosiluk nm "basil"
boska nf "teet [of udder]"
bostan nm bostani pl bostan'e pl3 "pumpkin-, melon-patch" /b. vade peponi i lubenici/ "A melon-patch produces rockmelons and watermelons"

božik nm "Christmas" /za no(gu) godini božik/ "Merry Christmas!"
bračet nm bračeda nf "cousin" /bračet mi, bračeda mi/ "my cousin"; definite form not used; voc.f.: /bračedo/
bračko term of endearment to male cousin
brada nf "beard"
bradaica nf "wart"
braf brao nm bravi pl "ram"
brane ipf.tr B odbrane pf "shelter, defend"
brašno nn brašnence dim "flour" /beło b./ "white flour"; /cərno b./ "whole-meal flour"
brat nm bratu voc brak'a pl "brother"
brazda nf "furrow"
bre part (expresses emphasis or impatience when addressing a boy or man) /ajde be/, /ajde bre/ "hurry up" cf. 6.3.1Ø cf. /be/, /ma/
brič nm bričinka dim "razor" /o točea bričo so remče/ "They used to sharpen the razor with a little strap (strop)"
briče ipf.tr B6 izbriče pf izbriči aor "shave" [tr.] /se b./ "shave" [itr.]
briše ipf.tr B1 izbriše pf izbrisa aor "wipe" /briši noso/ "Blow your nose!"; /izbriši a masata/ "Wipe the table!"
broe ipf.tr&itr B6 izbroe pf (iz)broi aor "count" /i broe parite/ "He counts his money"; /tokmu i broi parite/ "Did you count the money carefully?"
broenica nf broenička dim "bead"
brunče nn "pimple; sore"
buba nf bubalka dim "insect; silk-worm" /lazi b./ (children's rhyme)
bubrek bubrego nm bubreʒi pl "kidney"
buče ipf.itr B6 zabuče pf zabuči aor "roar, make a noise" /ušite mi bučat (svirat)/ "My ears are ringing"; /buče/ [ips.] "It's noisy"
bučeva nf "noise"
budał nm budała nm&f "fool"
budałck'i adj "stupid" /b. muabet/ "foolish talk"
budra nf "talcum powder"
bugarck'i adj "Bulgarian"
bugárija nf.prop "Bulgaria"
bugarin nm bugari pl bugarka f "Bulgarian"
bujrum intj -te pl "sit down! come in! etc." cf. /na 2/
bunar nm "well"

bune pf.tr B1 bunva A ipf buna aor "bump; hit" /se bunaf na stiso/ "I bumped into the wall"; /se bunaf od vratata i padnaf/ "I bumped into the wall and fell over" cf. /top/
bunišče nn "dung heap"
burmut nm "snuff" /dedo mi si klavaše b. pod noso/ "My grandfather used to take snuff"
bəba nf "flea"
bərgu adv "fast; early; recently" /póbərgu/ "faster; earlier"; /togaj dojdome b./ "We had only recently arrived then" cf. /stemne/
bərka 1 ipf.tr A izbərka A pf izbərka aor "drive away, scare away" /kučeto i bərka (i izbərka) lug'eto/ "The dog scares (scared) the people away"; /go izbərkaf čoeko da bega/ "I threw him out"
bərka 2 ipf.tr A iz-, nabərka A pf iz-, nabərka aor "make dirty, rfl: get dirty" /padna vu kałta i se izbərka/"He fell into the mud and got dirty";/da ne se bərkaš/ "Don't get dirty!"; /fustano mi se nabərka/ "My dress got dirty" cf. /čeł/, /čuži/
bərs bərza adj "fast"
bərza ipf.itr A pobərza A pf "hurry" /treba da (se) pobərzam/ "I have to hurry"
bərzu adv "fast" cf. /bərgu/
capa 1 ipf.tr A "wade" /k'e a capaš rekata/ "You'll wade through the river"
capa 2 ipf.tr & itr A iscapa A pf iscapa aor "splash" /deteto c. vu vodata/"..splashes about";/toj me iscapa/ "He splashed me"; /se iscapaf koga a pominaf rekata/"I got splashed wading through the river"
cape nn "kid, young goat" cf. /koza/
capka ipf.itr A "splash about" /decata capkaa vu vodata/ "The children are splashing about"
car nm carica nf "king, queen" /ko caroi/ "in luxury"
cedało nn "sieve"
cede ipf.tr B6 is-, otcede pf is-, otcedi aor "sieve, strain"
cediło nn "cheese-cloth"
cefka nf "pipe; drinking-straw"
celi prn.pl "everyone" cf. /səti/
ceł adj "whole"
cepe ipf.tr B6 rascepe pf cepi, razcepi aor "split; operate" /o rascepi dərvoto/ "he split the tree-trunk"; /o cepija čoeko/ "they operated on him" cf. /bałtak/
cerepna nf "earthenware baking pan"

cerevo nn "gut, intestine" /suo c./ "appendix"; /ʒadno c./ "colon"; /ima večko c./ "He eats like a horse"
cica ipf.tr & itr A "feed (baby)" /bebeto c. od majka mu/ "The baby feeds"; /go c. bebeto/ "She feeds the baby" cf./se nacica/
cicka nf "(woman's) breast"
cigara nf "cigarette" cf. /puro/
cigarłak, -łuk nm "cigarette-holder"
cika ipf.itr A "whinge" /deteto cika/ cf. /vərska/
cut nm "blossom, flower"
cute ipf.itr B6 rascute in rascuti aor "blossom"
cvek'e nn "flower"
cərkva nf "church" /oda ná_c./, /oda c./ "I go to church"; /k'e i zanese f c./ "He is going to take them to church"
cərn adj "black; swarthy; reactionary" /cərna žena/ "dark-skinned woman"; /cərna kərf/ "sick blood, unhealthy blood"; /nose cərno/ "mourn"; /cərnite/ "the conservatives"
cərniło nn "blackener"
cərvec nm cərvje pl "worm; maggot"
cərven adj "red"
čadar nm "tent"
čae nn čaina pl "tea" /turi si č./ "Pour yourself some tea!"; /płaninsko č./ "sage, sage tea" cf. /słap/; /debeł/
čair nm cf. /ledina/
čaj nm "tea" cf. /čae/
čanta nf "bag"
čardak nm "overhanging first storey"
čare nn "way, solution" /mu najde č./,/mu o najde čareto/ "He found a solution, way out"
čaršaf nm "sheet, cloth" /č. za kreveto/ "sheet"; /č. za masata/ "tablecloth"
čas adv "later; this afternoon" /č. k'e izleze sənceto/ "The sun will come out this afternoon"
časte ipf.tr B6 časti aor "treat, offer" /ne vi častija niščo/ "Didn't they offer you anything (to eat and drink)?"; /k'e te časta/ "Be my guest"
čatija nf "roof"
čatma nf "beam" cf. /greda/
čedo nn "child, children" /na mesto č./ "adopted"; /da ti e vərnato na č./ "The same to your children" (said at wedding to married guest) cf. /glaa/
čeka ipf.tr & itr A "wait (for)" cf. /prečeka/
čekan nm "hammer"

čeladen čeladna adj "with many children"
čelat nf.nc "children"
čeł nm čele dim "shoe" /čelite mi se bərkani/ "My shoes are dirty"
čeła nf "bee"
čełar nm "cobbler"
čenica nf čeniče dim "wheat"
čenka nf "sweetcorn, maize"
čenken adj adj to /čenka/ /č. lep/ "corn bread"; /čenkeno brašno/ "corn meal, maize meal"
čepka ipf.itr A "pick" /kokoškata č./ "The chicken picks about"
čera adv "yesterday"
čerašen -šna adj "yesterday's" /č. lep/ "yesterday's bread"; /čerašna nevesta/ "girl that was married yesterday"
čerčeve nn "window frame"
čerek nm "quarter" /osum bes č./ "a quarter to eight"
čereša nf "cherry; cherry-tree"
čerga nf "rug"
čes 1 nm (no def. form) "honour" /mu praa č. na zet mi/"I make my son-in-law welcome"; /zeto mu prae č. na baba mu/"waits on her hand and foot"; /golem č. ni naprai/
čes 2 česta adj "thick" /česta kosa/ "thick hair"
česen česna adj "honest; decent; virtuous" /č. čoek/ "decent fellow"; /česna žena/ "good woman"
česte ipf.tr B6 is-, iščeste pf is-, iščesti aor "make welcome" /počeste/ pf: /ne ve počestime nogu/ "We didn't make you very welcome"
češa nf "glass; cup" /č. za čae/ "teacup" cf. /finǯal/
češel nm češli pl "comb"
češla ipf.tr A iščešla pf A "comb, do up [hair]" /nogu ubao te iščešla/ "She did your hair well"; /kosata je iščešlana/ "His hair is tidy"
četka nf "brush"
čétvərtok nm "Thursday"
čičo, čiče nm "uncle (father's brother)" (also used for any man one generation older) cf. /striko/
čifčija nm "farmer, peasant"
čifčiłók nm "agricultural cooperative"
čiflik nm "farm"
čifte nn "shotgun"
čifut nm "rascal"

čii prn.poss "whose" /čije dete si ti/ "What family are you from?"
čine 1 ipf.itr B "do, work; fit, suit" /né_č./ "It's of no use; It's not the done thing"; /mi č./ "It suits me"; /mi s(e) č./ "I think";(also used as expletive verb, cf. 6.6.3
čine 2 ipf.itr B "do such and such" (expletive verb) /odeše po cərkvite da psałva, da č./ "He went on the round of the churches, working as a cantor and so on" cf. /takvova/
čingo nn "enamel"
čis čista adj "clean"
čiste ipf.tr&itr B6 iščiste pf iščisti aor "clean"
čistota nf "cleanness, cleanliness"
čoek nm čoeče dim lug'e pl "man, person"
čorap nm čorapče dim "sock" /pó_čorapi/ "in socks"
čua 1 ipf.tr A "guard, look after" /i č. decata, a č. gradinata/ "He looks after the children, the garden";/o čuame ristos/"We keep vigil in church on Good Friday night" cf /paze, ofca/
čua 2 ipf.tr A "prevent" /bog da čua/ "God forbid"
čude ipf.rfl B6 načude pf načudi aor "wonder, be surprised" /vi se č./ [ips.] "You're surprise"
čuka ipf.tr&itr A čukne pf B1 "hit; knock; hammer" /a č. čenkata za da i izvade semkite/ "He pounds the sweetcorn in order to extract the kernels"; /cel den č./ "He potters about all day" cf. /fidan/
čumu adv (orig. prn.) "what for?" /č. ti se/ "What use are they to you?"; /č. ti e da rabotaš/ "Why bother to work?"
čupa nf čupe dim "girl; girlfriend"
čurek nm čureče dim "Easter bread"
čuruk adj.ind "rotten, worthless" /č. zemja/ "worthless land"
čuš čuža adj "strange, foreign" /toj mi e čuš/ "He's no relation" cf. /čuži/
čuži čuža adj "someone else's, foreign" /č. čoek/ "someone else's relative, a stranger"; /čelite i nabərka za čuži raboti/ "He got dirty helping other people" cf. /naš/
čužina nf "foreign parts" /ná_č./ "abroad"
čužinec nm čužinci pl čužinka nf "stranger; foreigner"
da 1 conj "that" cf. 6.2
da 2 conj "if" cf. 6.2.2.3
da 3 part cf. 6.3.17
da 4 part cf. 6.3.18

dada nf dado voc "sis" (term of respect or affection for elder sister or cousin (f.))
dade [1sg.var:] dam pf.tr B2 dava A ipf dade aor "give" /kuznae koa k'e mi i dae/ "Who knows when he'll return them!"
dae cf. /dade/
daleč en daleč na adj "distant" /od d. pat grede/ "He has had a long trip" cf. /blizen/
daleku adv "far away, a long way"
dama nf "draughts" (game played with beans on a board)
damła nf "lightning; stroke" /go udri d./ "He had a stroke"; /d. da te udre/ "May you be struck down!" [curse]
damłosa pf.tr A "strike down" /o damłosa/ "He had a stroke"
dap dabo nm daboi, dabje pl "oak"
dar nm "gift" /taka mu e daro/ "That's his nature" cf. /podarok/
dava cf. /dade/
dea cf. /deka/
debele pf.rfl B6 zdebele pf zdebeli aor "get fat"
debeł adj "fat; thick (soup); severe" /debeła žena//debeło čae//d. stut/; /koneco je d. (tonok)/ "The thread is thick (thin)" cf. /tonok/
dedo nm "grandfather" (also wife's father, cf. /svekor/; also form of address for any man two generations older, or for any old man) cf. /baba/
deka, dea adv "where?" /od d. si/"Where are you from?";/nemaa dea da i kłaat/"They have nowhere to put them"; /od d. słama/"Where can you (one) get straw from?"
dele ipf B6 podele pf deli, podeli aor "share; rfl.: split up" /se šo imame si o deleme/ "We share everything we have"; /a podelime stokata/ "We divided up the stock"; /se delime/ "We split up" cf. /odele/
delenik nm "member of household" cf. /deł/
deł nm "share"
dełanka nf "twig" /dełanki (pl.)/ "tinder"
dełka ipf.tr A "sharpen [e.g. pencil]"
demék part "I mean, that is, well"
den nm deno, denta def; dni, dena pl "day" /denta/ "during the day"; /vu starite dni/ "in the old days"; /edni dena/ "some days"
denes adv "today"
den'e adv "during the day"
dere nn "ravine, cliff"

desen desna adj "right, right-hand" /desno/ (adv.) "on the right, to the right"
dete nn detence dim; deca pl "child; boy; young man"
dever nm "brother-in-law" (husband's brother) cf. /šura/
dif diva adj "wild" /d. čoek/, /d. kojn/, /divo kuče/, /divi deca/
dikat nm "attention" /mi stori d./ "He paid attention to what I said"; /stoeše d./ "He was on guard (watching)"
dikel nm dikli pl "two-pronged hoe"
dip adv "completely, very"
diple ipf B6 izdiple pf izdipli aor "fold, fold up" /i d. plačkite/ "He folds up his clothes"
disk dizgo nm "tray"
dłanka nf "palm (of hand)"
dobije pf.tr&itr B4 dobiva A pf dobi aor "win"
dobitok nm dobici pl "cattle"
dobor dobra adj "good" /d. domak'in/ "good housekeeper"; /d. aber/ "good news"; /dobro dojde/, /dobro došol (dobro došła)/ "Welcome!"; /daj bog dobro/ "Same to you!" cf. /aren/; /najde/
docno adv "late"
doe 1 ipf.tr B6 nadoe pf nadoi aor "breastfeed (baby)" /na edno mleko doeni/ "brother and sister" cf. /cica/
doe 2 pf.itr dojdu(f) doe aor cf. /dojde/
doec nm doica nf "widower; widow"
dogramažija nm cf. /dugramažija/
dogredva ipf.itr A "resemble" /d. ko dedo mu/ "He is like (takes after) his grandfather" cf. /mjasva/
dojde cf. /grede/
dojse pf.tr B2 dojse aor "bring" /ne me dojse treno na vreme/ "The train didn't get me here in time" cf. /donese/
doktur nm "doctor"
dok'imasa pf.tr A dok'imasva A ipf dok'imasa aor "try" /k'e o d. čaeto/ "I'll try (taste) the tea"
dolen dołna adj "lower"
dołap nm "cupboard"
dołu adv "down, low down, downstairs"
doma adv "at home"
domak'in nm domak'inka nf "householder; boss"
domašen domašna adj "domestic, home-"
domat nm domatče dim "tomato"
domazet nm "resident son-in-law" (man who moves in with his wife's family)

donese pf.tr B2 donesva A ipf donese aor "bring" cf. /zanese/
dopłate pf.tr B6 "pay off" /ne moža da o dopłata borǯo/ "I can't pay the debt off"
dopule pf.rfl B6 dopulva ipf A "get one's fill of looking" /ne se dopulvam na tebe/, /ne moža da se napula na tebe/ "I can't stop looking at you, I can't take my eyes off you"
dóperva adv "soon"
dorde conj "as long as" /d. e živa/ "as long as she lives"
dosta adv "enough" /d. mare/ "Enough! Enough!"
doš dož(j)o nm dožǯo (def) var "rain"
došika pf.tr&itr A došikva A ipf došika aor "notice"
dram nm unit of weight (approx. 3 gr) (one 4ØØtḣ part of an /oka/, q.v.)
draska ipf A "scratch"
dreme ipf.itr B6 zadreme pf zadremi aor "doze"
dremka nf "doze, forty winks" /dremka me fati/ "I dozed off"
drenka nf "cornel; cornel-berry"
drobe ipf.tr B6 iz-, z-drobe pf iz-, z-drobi aor "cut up; grate [cheese]"
dromka ipf.tr A "bounce (a baby)"
druk druga adj "other, different" /drugo je/ "That's different"; /drug'i den/ "the day after tomorrow"
drum nm "road"
družǯe adv "elsewhere"
due ipf B4 dune pf B1 "blow" /d. veter/ "It's windy" cf. /razduva/
dugramažija nm "carpenter"
duk'an nm "shop; café, bar"
duk'anǯija nm duk'anǯika nf "shopkeeper"
duma ipf.tr & rfl A zduma pf "think; remember" /meči oti (se) dumam/ "Be quiet, I'm thinking"; /pok'e dumaše/ "He/She remembered more" cf. /sebe/
duman nm "dust"
dunka nf "quince"
dun'a nf "world" cf. /svet/
dupe ipf.tr & itr B dupne B1 pf "poke; prick" /ežo d./ "A hedgehog is prickly"; /si i dupa očite "I ruin my eyes (reading, knitting, etc.)"
dupka nf "hole"
duriče nn "dust-pan"
duri, dur 1 prp "as far as, up to"
duri, dur 2 conj "until"

duri, dur 3 part "even" cf. 6.3.6
duša 1 nf "soul, spirit"
duša 2 cf. 4.3.3.4.1
dušeme nn "floor" /gornoto d./ "upstairs"
dušman nm dušmanka nf "enemy"
dvor nm "yard"
dək dəga adj "long" cf. /kus/
dərpa ipf.tr A "scratch" /si o dərpam gərbo/ "I scratch my back"
dərska ipf.itr A "suffer from diarrhoea" /čoeko d./;/teleto d./
dərven adj "wooden" /dərvena masa/ "wooden table"
dərvo nn "wood; tree" /sadiv d./ "I planted a tree"; /masa od d./ "table made from wood"; /dərva/ [pl.] also "firewood" cf. /cepe/
dəržafsk'i adj cf. /dəržaven/
dəržava nf "state, country"
dəržaven -vna adj "state" [attr.]
dərže ipf.tr&itr B1 dərža aor "hold"
ʒaden ʒadna adj "last"
ʒegvar nm "team of two oxen"
ʒenʒa ipf.itr A "play up" /ne ʒenʒaj/ "Be quiet!" (said to a child) cf. /łudva/
ʒida ipf A "erect [wall]" /majsturo ʒ./ "The mason is erecting a wall"
ʒvezda nf "star"
ʒvonec nm ʒvonče dim "bell"
ʒərʒała plt "glasses, spectacles" /edno ʒərʒało/ "lens"
ʒərne pf.itr B1 ʒərnka ipf A ʒərna aor "ring" /k'e ʒ. tilefono/ "The phone will ring"; /ʒvončeto ʒərnka/ "The little bell is ringing"
ǯaba ǯabe adv (in the set phrase /za ǯ./ "in vain, for nothing") cf. /bádija/
ǯade nn "road"
ǯafka ipf.itr A "bark" (also used metaphorically of people)
ǯam nn "glass; window"
ǯamarija nf "glasshouse"
ǯángara mángara intj.onomat. "double Dutch"
ǯangaraška nf "rattle, small bell"
ǯenka ipf.rfl A naǯenka pf naǯenka aor "have a tiff"
ǯep nm "pocket"
ǯig'er nm "liver" /beł ǯ./ "lung"; /cərn ǯ./ "liver"
ǯumbus nm "great fun"

ǯvaka ipf.tr & itr A "chew" /ǯ.tutun/ "chew tobacco"
ečmen nm. c & nc ečmen'e "barley"
ednaš adv "once" /ná_e./ "at once, straight away"
éemí intj "oh well" (used to preface expression of resignation:) /é., šo da praeme/ "Oh well, what can we do?" cf. /amí/
eftin adj "cheap"
eglen nm "coal" /eglen'e/ (pl.) "charcoal"
elek nm "vest"
elen nm "deer"
em ... em conj "both...and at the same time" /em kabaetlija, em ǯujaplija/ "at fault but not repentant"
emiš nm.nc "fruit"
endopin nm endopka nf "indigenous Macedonian"
erbap nm erbapka nf "clever, intelligent person" (also attrib.)
esap nm "mathematics"
eš ežo nm "hedgehog"
eto 1 part "look, for instance, now" /v afstrálija e. – edni se znaat, edni ne se znaat/ "Now in Australia, you see" or "Now take Australia for instance (...)"
eto 2 intj cf. 6.4.6
ezero nn "lake"
ezik nm "tongue; language"
fajde nn "interest [on money]"
fale ipf.rfl B6 "boast" /nogu se faleše od afstrálija/ "He was full of praise for Australia"
famelija nf cf. /famil'a/
famil'a nf "family"
faneła nf "cardigan, jumper"
fasarija nf "hassle"
fate pf.tr B6 fatva ipf A fati aor "seize, take, etc." /mu fatif raka/"I shook his (her) hand";/si fatime oteł/"We took a room in a hotel"; /fati stut/ "He (She) caught cold";/me fati son/"I fell asleep" cf./voda; ako/
favrika nf "factory"
fełka nf fełče dim "slice [e.g. watermelon]" cf. /momalka/
fetof fetfa adj cf. /fetok/
fetok fetka adj "old [of things]" /ná_fetko/ "second hand" cf. /fetof/
fidan nm fidani pl fidan'e pl3 "fruit-tree" /o čukame fidano za da padne jabəkoto/ "We shake the fruit-tree so that the apple will fall"

filan prn.ind "a certain" adjectivally /filan mesto/ "a certain place, such-and-such a place"
finǯal nm "coffee-cup" /mi fərli na finǯalo/ "She read my cup" cf. /češa/
fišek nm "bullet"
fitil nm "wick; gas [e.g.in lemonade]"
fnuk nm fnuci pl fnuka f "grandchild; nephew, niece" /f. od brat/ "nephew"; /f. ot f./ "great grandchild"
fores nm? "taste, desire" /za f./ "just to try it"; /mi e f. da jada/ "My mouth is watering"
fosok nf "wax"
fráncija nf.prop "France"
francusk'i adj "French"
francuzin nm francuska nf "Frenchman, French woman"
fuduł nm fudułka nf "vain person; haughty person" (also attr.)
furgoica nf "flag"
furka nf "spindle"
furna nf "oven; bakery"
fuska nf "balloon"
fustan nm "dress"
fərle pf.tr B6 fərla ipf A fərli aor "throw" /fərla snek (fərli snek)/[ips] "It is snowing (snowed)"; /mi fərla/ "She tells my fortune" cf. /kafe/
fərtoma nf "rope, cord"
gaba nf "mushroom"
gajda nf "bagpipe"
gajdar nm "bagpipe-player"
gajle nn "worry" /da ne beriš g./ "Don't worry"; /nema g./ "No problems"; /da mu e g. na ni/ "Let them worry about it", "It's their business"
gajret nm "support; patience" /da mu storeme g./ "Let's comfort him"; /golem g./ "great patience"
gale ipf.tr B6 "fondle" cf. /razgale/
gasenica nf "caterpillar" /gasenicata lazeše, a stapna mara/ "The caterpillar was crawling [along the ground], Mara trod on it"
gašči plt "underpants"
gaze ipf.tr B "tread (on); thresh" /da ne a gazete trevata/ "Don't walk through the grass"; /kon'eto o gazea žitoto/ "The horses would thresh the grain" cf. /gasenica/
gazja nf "kerosine"

gleda ipf.tr A izgleda pf A izgleda aor "look after" /decata i izgledaf/ "I looked after the children" cf. /čua/
gleto nn "chisel"
gluš glužo nm "joint; ankle; wrist"
głaa nf głafče dim "head" /i na g./ "Same to you" [said at a wedding to unmarried guest] cf. /čedo/
gładen gładna adj "hungry" /sit g. ne verva/ [proverb] "The rich do not understand how the other half lives" cf. /stoe/
głamna nf "ember"
głoba nf "fine"
głobe pf.tr B6 głobva ipf A "fine"
głop głobo nm "hip"
głufec nm głufci pl głufče dim "mouse"
gnas adv "repugnant" /mi e nogu g. da oda tamo/ "I don't like going there one bit"
gnasen gnasna adj "dirty; nasty, repugnant" /g. čoek/ "dirty or disagreeable person"
gnoj nm "pus; manure"
gode ipf.tr B6 "prepare" /g. ručok/ "prepare lunch"; /si g./ "suit oneself"; rfl.: "get ready; be suitable"; /ka vi se g./ "Whatever suits you"
godina nf godin'e, var. pl godinka dim "year" /za no(gu) godini (božik)/ "Happy New Year! (Happy Christmas!)" /vu tije godin'e/ "in those days"; /mara beše (imaše) 5 godini/ "Mara was 5" cf. /ima/
gódina adv "next year"
goe ipf.rfl B6 zgoe pf zgoi aor "put on weight, get fat" /zgoen/ ppp "plump"
golem adj "large" /pógolem/ "larger; older"
golemec nm "VIP"
goł adj "bare, naked"
gorče ipf.itr B "be bitter"
gorčlif gorčliva adj "bitter" /gorčliva krastaica/ "bitter cucumber"
gore 1 ipf.tr&itr B3 izgore pf izgori aor "burn" /izgoren/ "burnt"; /se izgoref/ "I burned myself; I got sunburnt"; /se izgore/ "It got burnt down"
gore 2 adv "high, up, upstairs"
goren adj "upper" /gornoto dušeme/ "upper floor"; /gorn'o pat/ "the upper road"
goreščina nf "heat, heat-wave"

gospo nm Cf. 4.3.Ø "the Lord" /gospo da čua/ "God forbid!"; /gospo k'e ni čua/ "The Lord will take care of us"; /na gospo da se moliš/ "Pray to God"
gospodinsk'i adj "God's " /gospodinsk'i raboti/ "God's business"
gostin nm gosti pl gostinka f "guest" /k'e odeme ná_gosti/ "We're going visiting"
gotof gótoa adj "ready"
gotve ipf.tr&itr B6 zgotve pf zgotvi aor "cook"
grada nf "chest, breast, bosom" (usu. pl.)
grade ipf.tr B6 zagrade pf zagradi aor "fence"
gradina nf "garden" cf. /bašča/
granka nf "branch"
grašina nf "peas" cf. /bizel'a/
grat grado nm "town"
gratsk'i adj "urban; urbane" /gratska žena/ "woman with airs and graces"
greda nf "beam" cf. /čatma/
grede ipf.itr B2 dojde pf dojde aor "come" imper. /ełа ełte/; /sekoj pat mi g. komšikata/ "My neighbour is forever coming to see me/; /ko rabotan'e mu g./ "It seems like work to him" cf. /dobor/
gref, grej nm greo def "sin; shame" /mi e grej da pula/ "I can't look"; /za greoi/ "It's a shame"
greota nf "bad condition; misfortune" [as adv.:] "hard up" etc. /g. su/ "I'm in a bad way"; /g. se lug'eto/ "These people are to be pitied"; /g. e grankata/ "It's hard for the branch"
greš grežo nm "knot"
greše 1 ipf.itr B6, B1 greši; greša aor "sin; make a mistake"
greše 2 ipf.tr B1 zgreše pf zgreša aor "mistake" /go zgrešaf pato/ "I lost my way"
grešen grešna adj grešana, var f.sg "sinful"
greška nf "mistake" /po g./ "by mistake"; /naprai g./ "He made a mistake"
gribło nn "rake"
grize ipf.tr&itr B "chew" /cərvjeto i grizat koren'eto/ "The worms are eating the roots"
grobišča plt "cemetery" cf. /grop/
grop grobo nm groboi pl grobišča pl3 "grave" /sink'i u grobo vlegoł/ "I feel like death warmed up" cf /grobišča/
grozje nn.nc "grapes" /suo g./ "raisins"
grutka nf "lump"

gube pf.tr&abs B6 izgube pf izgubi aor "lose" /k'e (iz)gubiš nogu pari/ "You'll lose a lot of money"; /a izgubiv žena mi/ "I lost my wife"
gułap gułabo nm "pigeon"
gumno nn "threshing-ground"
guša nf "neck"
guška ipf.tr A "cuddle, fondle"
gušnik nm "necklace"
gərck'i adj "Greek" /tərgat na gərcko/ "They are Graecophiles"
gərče ipf.itr B "snore"
gərčk'i adj cf. /gərck'i/
gərdos nf "ugliness; trouble" /staros gərdos/ "Old age is a curse" cf. /gərt/
gərk nm gərkinka nf gərci pl "Greek"
gərło nn "throat"
gərme ipf.ips B6 zgərme pf zgərmi aor "thunder"
gərmevo nn "thunder"
gərne nn "earthenware pot" /vu gərnete varea bop starite/ "In the old days they made bean soup in an earthenware pot"
gərp gərbo nm "back"
gərt gərda adj "ugly"
gəs gəzo nm "arse"
gəska nf gəsak m "goose, gander"
gəta ipf.tr&itr A "swallow"
gəteš nm gətki pl "gulp, mouthful" /dve gətki/ "two mouthfuls"
gə'rcija nf.prop "Greece"
g'aoł nm g'aołče "devil" /g'aolo/ "the Devil"
g'eremida nf "tile"
g'ermanec nm g'ermanka f g'ermanck'i adj "German"
g'ermánija nf "Germany"
g'ežve nn "coffee-pot" (for making Turkish coffee)
g'iba ipf.tr A g'ibne pf g'ibna aor "touch; affect, worry" /ne me g'./ "It doesn't affect me"; /ne te g'ibat/ "They leave you alone"; /ne o g'. goreščinata/ "He doesn't mind the heat" cf. /boles/
g'ine pf.tr B1 zag'ine pf zag'ina aor "wane; disappear; perish" /se g./ "get lost" cf. /zag'ine/
g'onče nn "clover" /o prevərnuvame g'ončeto/ "We turn the clover over [to dry]"
g'org'i nm.prop g'orče dim "George"

g'ubre nn "rubbish; manure"
g'učka ipf.tr A g'učne B1 pf "tickle"
g'ule nn "rocket"
g'um nm g'umče dim "kettle, can, metal jug"
g'upck'i adj "gypsy"
g'uptin nm g'upci pl g'upka f "gypsy"
g'uruntija nf "commotion"
haj intj "come on; Bob's your uncle" /izvai o mlekoto i h./ "He brought out the milk and then left"; /k'e kładat solini i h./ "They put in pipes and Bob's your uncle"
i 1 conj "and"
i 2 part "also" cf. 6.3.7
ič part "not at all"
igła nf iglica dim "needle; injection" /i. mi klade/ "He gave me an injection"
igra ipf.tr&itr A zaigra in izigra term "play; dance" /i. lopka/ "play football"; /i. karti/ "play cards"; /i. oro/ "dance"; /ne možat da se naigrat/ "They can't stop dancing"
ilač nm "medicine"
ili conj "or"
íligden nm cf. /ílinden/
ílinden, íligden nm "Ilinden" (26th July, Feast of St. Elijah, patron saint of Kalenik)
ima ipf A "have" /taa i. 7Ø godini/ "She is 7Ø"; /si i ima godink'ite "She is getting on (in years)"/ima [ips.] "there is, are" /ima 7Ø godini/ "7Ø years ago"
iman'e nn.nc "farm animals"
ime 1 nn "name; name-day; reputation" /ka mu e imeto/ "What's his name?"; /na ime se dava/ "It's given as a name-day present"
ime 2 nn "udder"
inaet, inaat nm "spite; stubbornness" /za i./ "out of spite; as a punishment"
inak adv "otherwise; different" /i. k'e bide rabotata/ "This is not what it seems"
inakof inakva prn "different"
inaku 1 adv "differently"
inaku 2 conj "otherwise"
ing'ilís -izo nm ing'iliska nf "Englishman (-woman)"
ing'ilisk'i adj "English, British, Anglo-" /i. prikažva/ "He talks English"
inka nf "funnel; ventricle [heart]"
ipak conj "however"

is ista adj "the same"
iseče pf.tr B2 isekuf, -seče aor "cut up (all, a lot)" /go iseče mesoto/ "Did you cut up the meat?" cf. /seče/
ispase pf.tr B6 ispasi aor "graze (bare)" /a ispasija nivata/ "They [the cows] grazed the field bare"
ispeče pf.tr B2, B6 ispekuf,-peče aor B2 ispeči aor B6 "bake" cf. /peče/
ispiše pf.tr B1 ispisa aor "fill up with writing" /ispisa dosta/ "He's written a lot"
ispituliče pf.tr B6 ispituliči aor "flatten"
ispłakva ipf.tr A ispłakne B1 pf "rinse [dishes]"
ispovednik nm "father-confessor"
isprate pf.tr B6 ispratva ipf isprati aor "farewell (guests)"
isteče pf.itr B2 istekva ipf A istekuf -teče aor "run off; overflow" /dožžo istekva/ "The rain flows off" cf. /teče/
istera pf.tr A "drive out, drive away" cf. /tera/
isto part "also" cf. 6.3.8
istrae pf.tr B4 istra aor "dirty" /muite i istraa dolapite/ "The flies dirtied the cupboards"; /se i./ "empty one's bowels" [cf. /sere/]
istrebe pf.tr B6 istrebi aor "remove; clean up" /i. dərvo/ "remove a tree"; /i. pšenica/ "clear up wheat"
isture 1 pf.tr B6 isturva ipf A isturi aor "tip out, spill" /se isturi [aor.] celo/ "It's all spilt"; /isturi o čaeto, k'e ti dada noo/ "Tip out your tea, I'll give you a fresh cup"
isture 2 pf.tr B6 isturva ipf A isturi aor "destroy, pull down" rfl. "fall apart"; /si i isturime kosk'ite/ "We earned our living the hard way"
izba nf "cellar"
izbogate pf.rfl B6 izbogati aor "get rich" /se izbogati/ "He made a fortune" cf. /bogat/
izdiše pf.rfl B6 "air" /da se i. odaata/ "Let the room air"
izdojde, izdoe pf.rfl B2 izdojde, izdoe aor "arrive"
izede pf.tr B2 "eat up" cf. /jade/
izgore pf.tr B6 izgorva ipf izgore aor cf. /gore 1/
izgube cf. /gube/
izgubva ipf.tr A cf. /gube/
izleze pf.itr B2 izlegva ipf A iz-leguf -leze aor "go, come out; turn out" /izlezen/ pp; /izleze na toj soj/ "He took (takes) after that (side of the) family"
izmet nm "care, service" /mu prae i./"She looks after him"; /nogu i. sakaa/ "They need care"; /na deteto treba da mu napraiš izmeto/"You have to look after the child well"

iznapije pf.rfl B4 "drink one's fill" /ne možat da se iznapijat/ "They can't stop drinking"
iznose pf.tr B6 iznosi aor "wear out"
izvor nm "spring"
ja 1 part "now, you see, well then" /j. pomina godinata/ "Well there it is, another year gone" cf. 6.3
ja 2 intj (exhortation) /j.! vidi tamo/ "Look!" cf. 6.4.7
jabanǯija nm jabanǯika f "stranger, foreigner" [also attrib.] cf /čužinec/
jabəko nn jabəkse dim "apple; apple-tree"
jadačka nf "battleaxe" [bad-tempered woman]
jade ipf.tr&itr B2 izede pf izede aor "eat" /mi se prijade/ "I suddenly felt hungry"; /jaden'e/ "meal; food" cf. /prejade/
jadica nf "hook"
jagne nn "lamb"
jagnešen -šna adj "lamb's" /jagnešno meso/ "lamb [meat]"
jagnešk'i adj "lamb's" /j. kožuf/ "lamb's fur"; /jagneško meso/ "lamb [meat]"
jajce nn jajca pl "egg"
jak adj "strong; hard" /jaka raka/ "strong arm"
janglaš nm "mistake" /po j./ "by mistake" cf. /greška/
jape ipf.itr B "be itchy" /mi j. gərbo/ "My back is itchy"
jarebica nf "partridge"
jarem nm "yoke"
jas jazo nm "whirlpool"
jastuk nm "mattress"
jatərva nf "sister-in-law" (wife of husband's brother) cf. /snaa/
javno adv "openly" /izleze na j./ "It became known" cf. /skrišno/
javor nm "maple (Acer)"
jažička nf "rope (string) from rye" (for sheaves)
jok adj.ind "dirty" /ti praat j./ "They make a mess"; /j. k'e storiš/ "No good will come of that"; /j. da o store/ "A curse on it!" cf. /prae/
jorgan nm "quilt"
juk jugo nm "warm south wind" cf. /sever/
junec nm junci pl "bull" cf. /junica/
junica, junička nf "heifer"
jurnik nm jurneci pl var "pattern"
ka adv cf. /kako/
kabaet nm "blame" /nema k. čoeko/ "It's not his fault, he's not to blame"; /jas nemam k./ "I didn't do it"

kabaetlija nm & f "culprit" (also adj. "to blame")
kaca nf kače dim "vat"
kačae ipf.tr B6 iskačae pf iskačai aor "crease, crumple" /po pato mi se iskačaija plačkite/ "On the way my clothes got crumpled"; /mi se iskačai fustano/ "My dress got creased"
kačamak nm "polenta" cf. /tarana/
kače pf.tr B6 kačva ipf A kači aor "raise, put (up onto), take" /se k./ "climb up, get up (onto, into)"
kadar adj "invalid" /kadara žena/ "invalid" [f.]
kade ipf.itr B "smoke"
kadeš nm "smoke"
kadife nn "velvet"
kadražija nm "photographer"
kadro nn "picture, photo" /navezano k./ "tapestry" cf. /vade/ 1
kafe nn kafenče dim "coffee" /mu si isturi kafeto/ "His coffee spilt"; /turcko k./ "Turkish coffee"; /da o fərliš kafeto/ "turn the coffee-cup over [in order to tell fortune]"
kaj prp "at; around; near" /k. cola/ "at Cola's; near Cola's"; /k. sedum saato/ "around 7 o'clock"
kajmak nm "cream" [also froth on the top of a cup of coffee, considered to be a sign of quality]
kajsija nf "apricot"
kako, ka, ko adv "like, as" /kako si/ "How are you feeling?"; /ka ne?/ "Why not?"; /ka ne mu stude/ "Of course he's cold!"
kaleničanec nm kaleničani pl kaleničanka nf "person from Kalenik"
kaleš adj "swarthy; dark" /dedo mu beše k./ "His grandfather was dark"; /kaleši plački/ "dark clothes"
kał nf kałoi pl "mud"
kałabałok adv "lots" /k. lug'e/ "crowds of people"; /k. iman'e/ "lots of stock"
kałap nm "mould; model; shape; splint" /kałapče/ "briquette"
kałžija nm "builder's labourer" (mud was used as mortar for mud bricks /plitari/)
kaług'er nm kaług'erka nf "monk; nun" /ili mał ženi se, ili mał oi k./ "Either marry young or take vows"
kambana nf "belfry, bell" /kambanata udri/ "The bell tolled"
kamen nm kamen'e, -n'a pl kamče dim "stone" /sin k./ "copper sulphate" cf. /boj/
kana nf "henna"

kanata nf kanatče dim "jug"
kanosva ipf.tr A "dye with henna"
kantar nm "scales"
kapa nf "cap, hat"
kapak nm "lid"
kape 1 ipf.itr B "drip"
kape 2 ipf.tr B1 iskape pf iskapa aor "bathe"
kapinka nf "blackberry"
kara ipf A skara, iskara pf skara, iskara aor "rebuke; rfl.: quarrel" cf /prekarva/2
karota nf "carrot"
karta nf "card"
kasne pf.itr B1 kasnuva ipf A kasna "come late, be running late"
kastre ipf.tr B6 is-, potkastre pf is-, potkastri aor "prune [tree], trim [beard]"
kaša nf "hemp"
kašer nm "kashkaval" [type of hard yellow cheese]
kašla ipf.itr A zakašla pf zakašla aor "cough"
kašlica nf kašlička dim "cough"
katran nm "tar" /da variš u katrano/ "May you boil in tar!" [curse]
kazan nm "copper; font; tank; still"
kaže pf.tr B1 kažva A pf kaza aor "say" cf. /vele/
kažva, vele ipf.tr reče pf reče aor "say, tell"
kepenk kepengo nm kepenʒi pl "shutter" /urni o kepengo/ "Close the shutter!"
klefka ipf.tr A isklefka pf "cut with jagged edge" /klefkan/ "jagged"
klekne pf.itr B1 kleknuva ipf A klekna aor "squat"
klepka nf "eyelash"
kletva nf "curse" cf. /kəłne/
klifun nm "beak"
klinec nm klinci pl "nail; little rascal (child)"
kluč 1 nm "key"
kluč 2 nm "joint"
kłade ipf.tr B2 kława pf A kłade aor "put; put on; install; plant" /napre me klavaja/ "They always seated me up front"; /mu k. ime/ "I baptize him, give him a name"; /o k. nunko/ "I choose him as my best man" cf. /igła/
kłas kłasto nm kłasoi pl kłasje pl3 "ear (of grain)"
kłase ipf.itr B "form ears"
kłoca ipf.tr&itr A kłocne pf B1 "kick out"

kłopotarec nm "bell"
kłuka ipf.itr A "hammer"
kniga nf.c & nc "paper; letter" /kniže/ "piece of paper"
ko cf. /kako/
koa 1 nf "bucket; tub" /koe [dim.] vino/ "cup of wine"
koa 2 ipf.tr A zakoa pf zakoa aor "shoe [a horse]"
koa 3 adv cf. /koga/
koa 4 conj cf. /koga/
koač nm "smith"
kobiła nf "mare"
kočan nm kočanka nf var "corn-cob"
kofček kofčego nm "trunk; chest" cf. /zalupe/, /kišče/
koga, koa adv; conj "when"
kojn kojno, kon'o nm kojne, kon'e pl kojnče dim "horse" /četiri, nogu kon'e/ "four, many horses"
kokošarnik nm "chicken coop"
kokoška nf "chicken"
koku adv "how much, many?"
kokugodišen -šna adj "how old?"
kole ipf. B1, B6 zakole pf zakła, zakoli aor "slaughter"
koleno nn "knee"
kolešče nn "wheel-barrow; pram"
koł nm kol'e pl "stick"
koła nf "cart"
kołaj nm "ease" /so k. da rabotaa/ "so that they can work easily"
kołak nm "special bread" (esp. special bread exchanged by bride and groom before wedding); /kołače/ (dim.) "bun"
kołovoznik nm "ford"
komšija nm komšika nf "neighbour"
komšiłuk nm "neighbourhood, neighbours" /ná_k. ode/ "go visiting"
konec 1 nm konci pl "string, thread" /konče/ "thread, yarn"
konec 2 nm "spine, backbone"
konop nf "flax"
kopa ipf.tr & itr A "dig; mine" cf. /zakopa/
kopačka nf "pick"
kopanka nf "trough, tub"
kopito nn "hoof"
koprina nf "silk"
koprinen adj "silk" [attr.] /koprinena basma/
kopriva nf "nettle"
kora nf "crust; (layer of) pastry"

koren nm koren'e pl3 "root" /korenče/ "seedling"
korešnica nf "chicken dropping"
korija nf "village wood, forest"
korito nn "trough"
korka nf "crust" cf. /kora/
korne 1 ipf.tr B1 iskorne pf iskorna aor "pull out" /go iskornaf koreno/ "I pulled out the root"; /k'e mu i iskorna očite/ "I'll scratch her eyes out!"; /k'e mu a iskorna kosata/ "I'll tear his hair out"
korne 2 ipf.tr B1 skorne pf skorna aor "wake" /da o skorniš da stane ot span'eto/ "Wake him up"; /k'e me skorneše svekərva mi nogu rano/ "My mother-in-law would wake me very early"
koromušk'i plt "cradle cap"
kosa 1 nf.c & nc "hair"
kosa 2 nf "scythe"
kose ipf.tr B6 is-, po-kose pf is-, po-kosi aor "mow" /a iskosime trevata/ "We have mowed the grass"; /a okosi celata niva/ "He mowed the whole field"
koska nf "bone; stone [fruit], pip" /morcka k./ "shell" cf. /isture/ 2
kosten nm "chestnut; treat"
koš nm "basket (for straw)"
košara nf košarče dim "hut"
košarnik nm cf. /kokošarnik/
košnica nf "shopping-basket"
košula nf "shirt"
koteł nm kotle dim "metal pot"
koza nf koze dim "goat"
kožobašija nm kožobašija var "mayor"
kožuf nm kožui pl "fur"
kožuruk nm "skin [on milk]"
kradač nm kradačka nf "thief"
krade ipf.tr&itr B6 otkrade pf.tr otkradi aor "steal; elope with" /mi o otkradi fustano/ "He (She) stole my dress" cf. /kražba/
kraj nm "end; region" /stári_kraj/ "the Old Country"
krasta nf "scab" /kozata k., paška úgore/ "Stiff upper lip", lit. "The goat [has] a scab, [but its] tail [is] up"
krava nf "cow"
kražba nf "theft" cf. /krade/
krene pf.tr B1 kreva ipf A krena aor "lift, move, raise; rfl. rise"

krepe ipf.tr B dokrepe pf "hold, support" /ánglija a krepe gərcija/ "England supports Greece"; /se krepeme/ "We manage"; /eden den ne k'e se dokrepe/ "One day she won't be able to manage"
kreve nn krevence dim "bed"
krif kriva adj "crooked; adv.: bad, wrong" /šo ti e krivo šo si taka naluten/ "What's wrong that you are so angry?"
krije ipf.tr B4 skrije pf skri aor "hide, conceal" /skrijen/ ppp cf. /kərt/
kriło nn kril'a pl "wing"
krina nf "gladiolus"
kroe ipf.tr B6 iskroe pf iskroi aor "cut out [e.g. a dress]"
kromit kromido nm kromitče dim "onion"
krotok krotka adj "quiet"
kruša nf "pear; pear-tree"
kube ipf.tr B1 iskube pf iskuba aor "pluck [poultry]"
kuca ipf.itr A "limp, be lame"
kuče nn "dog" cf. /kutale/
kučka nf kučk'e voc "bitch" (also term of abuse)
kufer nm "case"
kukaica nf "cuckoo"
kukła nf kukle dim "doll"
kuk'a nf "house"
kułupčija nm "helper [at wedding]" (serves drinks at wedding, cf. /posestrima/)
kum nm kuma nf kume; kuma voc "relative by marriage" couple married by /nunkoi/, and also the parents of the bride and bridegroom in relation to the /nunkoi/; /kúmoa słama/ "milky way"
kup 1 nm kupče dim "pile, heap"
kup 2 adv "altogether"
kupe pf.tr & itr B6 kupva ipf A kupi aor "buy; shop"
kur nm kure, kurče dim "penis"
kurdisa pf.tr A kurdisva ipf A "tease; wind up (clock)"
kursa nf "motor car"
kurtule pf.tr B6 kurtuli aor "save"
kurva nf "whore"
kus adj "short" /kusa (dəga) život/ "short (long) life"; /kusi (dəgi) nozi/ "short (long) legs"
kusa ipf.itr A "be missing, be short" /mu k. neščo/ "She is missing something", "She is deficient"
kutale nn "pup" cf. /kuče/

kuteł nm "bushel" (measure of capacity of grain, one quarter of an /osmak/)
kutne pf.tr B1 kutna aor "knock down; remove" /se k./ "lie down" cf. /urne/
kutri adj "unfortunate, wretched" /kutrjo (kutrata)/ "poor thing! poor wretch!"; /kutra majka/ "poor mother!"
kuverta nf "rug"
kúznae intj "who knows?", "God knows!"
kvače ipf.tr&itr B6 iskvače pf iskvači aor "brood, hatch"
kvačka nf "clucky hen, broody hen"
kvas nm kvašče dim "leaven, sour dough, yeast"
kəlne ipf.tr B1 pre-, zakəlne pf pre-, zakəlna aor "curse"
kərca ipf.itr A "squeek" /vratata k./
kərf nf "blood" /od edna k. sne/ "We are relatives"; /k. rodnina/ "blood relative" cf. /cərn/
kərka ipf.itr A "cluck [said of hen]"
kərla ipf.rfl A "swing" /deteto se k./ "The boy is having a swing"
kərlaška nf "swing"
kərleš kərležo nm "tick [insect]"
kərmnak nm "hog" cf. /matorica/
kərpa nf "cloth; table-cloth; towel"
kərpe ipf.tr B "darn, mend" /čełar k. čeli/ "a cobbler mends shoes"; /kərpena život/ "wretched, difficult life"
kərs 1 kərsto nm "cross" /k. praa/ "I make the sign of the cross", "I cross myself"; /da si o napraiš kərsto/ "Make the sign of the cross", "Cross yourself"
kərs 2 kərsto nm "small of back"
kərs 3 <kərz> prp "across, around" /k. seloto/ "around the village"; /kərz grado/ "around the town"; /kərz grobiščata/ "across the cemetery"
kərste 1 ipf.tr B6 kərsti aor "baptize" /toj me kərsti/ "He is (was) my godfather" cf/prekərste/1
kərste 2 ipf.rfl B6 prekərste 2 pf prekərsti aor "cross oneself"
kərščen'e nn "baptism" cf. /kərste/
kərše ipf.tr B6 skərše pf skərši aor "break, break open" /o skərši sərceto ot plačen'e/ "He cried his heart out"; /toj mu o skərši na majkamu sərceto/ "He broke his mother's heart"; /se k./ "break (itr)"
kərt nm "mole" /kərto se skri vu zemjata/ "The mole disappeared under the ground"
kərtul nm kərtulče dim "potato" cf. /patat/
kərtułao nn kərtułai pl "dahlia"

kəsa ipf.tr&itr A kəsne B1 pf kəsna aor "bite" /mravite kəsat/ "Ants bite"; /kəsni/ "Help yourself [to food]!"
kəsmet nm "luck" /koga k'e mi dojde kəsmeto/ "When Fate decides"; /bés_kəsmet/ "out of luck"
kəsmetlija adj.ind "lucky"
k'ar nm "profit"
k'e part cf. 6.5.3
k'ef nm "mood, desire, intention" /nemaa k'./ "They weren't in the mood"; /si praat k'./ "They have fun"; /mu prae k'./ "She does his bidding"
k'enef nm k'eneo def var "privy, toilet"
k'erał nm "storeroom"
k'erdosa ipf.rfl A "prosper, profit" /da se k'erdosaa/ "May they prosper" (said of bridal couple and used as greeting by guests at a wedding)
k'ereste nn.nc "timber"
k'erka nf "daughter"
k'ese nn "purse"
k'eselina nf "vinegar"
k'ešk'i part "if only" /k'ešk'i da kupéme druga kursa/ "If only we had bought a different car"; k'ešk'i da i dadef - pišman se storif/ "If only I had given (them to them)
k'ifa ipf.itr A isk'ifa pf isk'ifa aor "sneeze"
k'ifaica nf "sneeze"
k'ik'irk'i plt "peanuts"
k'ilim nm "woven rug, carpet square"
k'ine ipf B1 sk'ine pf sk'ina aor "tear; wear out" /ne se k'./ "It keeps forever"
k'inisa pf.itr A k'inisva ipf "set off"
k'irija nf "rent" /pot k./ "rented, rental [attr.]"
k'iselec nm "sorrel" cf. /ščave/
k'iselina nf cf. /k'eselina/
k'iseł adj "sour" /k'iseła voda/ "mineral water"
k'iska nf "bouquet" (esp. bouquet of basil used by priest to sprinkle holy water)
k'isło adj.ind "soaked, soaking wet" /se napraija k'./ "They got wet"; /čelite bea k'./ "My shoes were wet"
k'isne pf.rfl A sk'isne pf sk'isna aor "soak; rot; steep; stand" /čaeto se k'./ "The tea is steeping"; /ženite doma k'e sk'isnat/ [metaphor.] "The women rot (go sour) sitting at home"
k'iste ipf.tr B6 nak'iste pf nak'isti aor cf. /k'išče/

k'išče ipf.tr B6 nak'išče pf nak'išči aor "arrange; pack; decorate" /i nak'išči plačk'ite vu kofčego/ "He packed the clothes in the chest"; /k'iščeme ristos/ "We decorate (the figure of) Christ (for Easter)"
k'ofte nn "rissole"
k'or adj "blind"
k'oš nm k'oše dim "corner"
k'otek nm "beating, blow" /k. jade/, /boj jade/ "He got a hiding"; /k'e jadiš k'otek/ "You'll get a hiding, I'll beat you up"
k'uk'ur nm "sulphur"
k'umur nm "coal" /k'. od dərvo/, /dərven k'./ "charcoal"
k'ur nm "coffin"
k'urdija nf "long woollen coat, frock" (part of national costume)
lebar nm "baker"
lebarna nf "bakery" cf. /furna/
leblebija nf "roasted chickpeas"
ledina nf "meadow, grass, lawn"
lee ipf.tr B1 zalee pf zalea aor "pour" /mi zalea voda/ "He poured me [a glass of] water"; /jas si zaleaf/ "I poured myself a drink"
legne pf.itr B1 legnuva ipf legna aor "lie down, go to bed" /si legna/ "He lay down" cf. /leže/
leg'en nm "basin"
lekva ipf.tr A izlekva pf "treat; [pf.] cure"
lele intj (expresses surprise, dismay) cf. 6.4.8
lep lebo nm "bread" cf. /mese/, /rone/, /ruska/
lepało nn "glue"
lepe ipf.tr B6 zalepe pf zalepi aor "stick" /mi se zalepi košulata od goreščinata/ "My shirt stuck to me from the heat"
lepeška nf "cow pat" /kojnska l./ "horse's dropping"
lepeškar nm "shit-shoveller" (derog. for dairy hand)
lerinec nm lerinci pl lerinka nf "person from Lerin"
lesen lesna adj "light; easy"
lesnota nf "relief"
lešča nf "lentils"
lešnik nm "hazelnut"
leto nn "summer" /vu letoto/ "in the summer"
letosk'i adv "last summer" /l. beše nogu žeško/ "Last summer it was very hot"
levo adv "to the left, on the left"

leže ipf.itr B1, B6 poleže att (po)leža, -i aor "lie" /dve nedeli ležame (vu apsanata)/ "We were kept in prison for two weeks"; /dva meseci leži bolen/ "He lay ill for two months" cf. /legne/
lice nn "face"
liče ipf.itr B "suit" /fanełata l./ "The pullover suits him"; /mustako mu l./ "The moustache suits him"; /ličeme/ "We're alike"
ličen lična adj "beautiful" /lična žena/ "beautiful woman"; /lično dete/ "beautiful boy"; /šo mi sakaš l./ "What can I do for you, beautiful one?"
ličotija nf "beauty"
lifanto nn "perfume"
limonata nf "lemonade"
linija nf "railway track"
lis listo nm lisja pl lisje coll "leaf" /lišče/ dim. cf. /ruska/
lisica nf "fox"
lita ipf.itr A litne B1 pf.in litna aor "fly"
livada nf livadje pl "meadow"
liže ipf.tr B "lick" /o l. misuro/ "He licks the plate clean"
lube ipf.tr B6 "love, be in love with" cf. /zalube/
lubovnik nm lubovnika nf "sweetheart; lover"
lug'e pl cf. /čoek/
lula ipf.tr A "rock [baby]" /majkata go l. deteto vo lulkata/ "The mother rocks her baby in the cradle"
lule nn "pipe (for smoking)"
lulka nf "cradle"
lupało nn "peeler"
lupe ipf.tr B6 izlupe pf izlupi aor "peel, skin" /izlupi jajce/ "He peeled a [boiled] egg"
lut adj "hot, spicy; angry, savage" /jademe luto/ "We like spicy food"; /l. piper/ "chilli"; /l. čoek/ "angry, savage man" Cf. /sert/, /solen/
lute 1 ipf.tr B6 nalute pf naluti aor "annoy", rfl.: "get, be angry" /se l./ "He is angry"; /mi se naluti/ "He got angry with me"; /na mene naluten/ "angry with me" cf. /zalute/
lute 2 ipf.itr B6 "be hot, be spicy (food)"
łaboda nf (spinach-like vegetable) chenopodium album?
łade ipf.tr izłade pf "cool"
ładen ładna adj "cool"
łaf nm "word; language" /nemam ł./ "I have no say (in it)"

łafe ipf(rfl) B6 połafe pf połafi aor "talk, have a chat" /se połafime/ "We had a chat"
łafenžija nm łafenžika nf "chatterbox" cf. /temerut/
łaga nf "lie, deceipt"
łajna nf "dung"
łako nn "elbow"
łakom adj "greedy" /ł. za pari/ "greedy for money"
łamarina nf "galvanized iron"
łamba nf "lamp"
łani adv "last year"
łapa ipf.itr A "eat" (derogatory, or of animal)
łapne pf.tr&itr B1 "bite; have a snack"
łastik nm "hose"
łastovička nf "swallow"
łatvica nf "amphora"
łázara nm.prop "Feast of St. Lazarus" (Sunday before Easter)
łaze ipf.itr B "crawl" /deteto l./ "The baby crawls" cf. /buba/
łazica nf łaziče dim "spoon"
łaže ipf.tr&itr B1 izłaže pf.tr izłaga aor "lie; cheat" /łažiš/ "That's a tall story!"
łažgo nm łažga nf "liar" /golem ł./ "a great liar"
łažoveni adj "false" /łažovni napol'oni/ "counterfeit, pretend gold coins"
łof nm? "hunting" /ode po ł./ "He goes hunting"; /beše po ł./ "He was hunting"
łoj nm "dripping"
łoka ipf.tr & itr A "lap (up), drink [of dog]" /kučeto l. voda/ "A dog drinks water"
łopata nf "shovel"
łopka nf "football; bowls" /igrat l./ "They are playing football"
łopkar nm "footballer"
łoš adj "bad" /łoši lug'e/ "evil people"
łovžija nm "hunter"
łozinka nf "grapevine"
łozje nn łozja pl "vineyard"
łubenica nf "watermelon"
łudva ipf A "play up; make trouble" /deteto nogu ł./ "The boy is a handful"; /pijanica e - nogu ł./ "He's a drunkard - he makes a lot of trouble"

łuk nm "garlic" /naš ł. - lut ł./ "Our garlic is hot" [tongue twister]
łukanec nm łukanci pl "sausage"
łuna nf "gust of wind"
łut łuda adj "nervous, wild" /łudo dete/ "unruly child"; /łuda žena/ "crazy woman"
ma part "for goodness' sake" (exclamation used for emphasis or to express impatience when addressing a girl or woman) cf. /bre/
maała nf "quarter [of town]"
mače 1 nn "kitten" cf. /mačka/
mače 2 ipf.tr B6 izmače pf iz(na)mači aor "torment, cause trouble" /šo a mačat/ "Why do they put her to such trouble?"; /se m./ "go to a lot of trouble; try hard; work hard"
mačen mačna adj "difficult" /mačna život/ "life full of suffering"; /m. narot/ "long-suffering, persecuted people"; /starite živea mačno/ "Life used to be difficult"
mačka 1 nf mače dim mačor nm "cat"
mačka 2 ipf.tr A na-, iz-mačka pf na-, iz-mačka aor "daub, spread, paint; smear" /a mačkaš kuk'ata so var/ "You white-wash the house";/mu o namačka gərbo/"I rubbed his back (with ointment)";/namačkaj o stiso/ "Render the wall!"
mačor nm cf. /mačka/ 1
magdanos nm magdano nn "parsley"
magła nf "mist"
maja nf "yeast; yoghurt culture"
majče, mame intj "Mummie's boy, girl" (term of endearment used by old women to young people, orig. /majče dete/, /mame dete/) cf. /babe/
majka nf "mother" (voc. /majko/ also form of address used by married woman to mother-in-law); /majkata/ (expletive)
majna nf "lightning"
majstor majstur nm "skilled tradesman"
majstorłuk nm "trade"
majtap nm "joke" cf. /potpeza/
maka 1 nf "trouble, travail, torment" /nogu m. vide/ "He had a hard life"; /mi e m. da oda/ "It's difficult, I can't be bothered going" cf. /tərga/ 1
maka 2 ipf.tr A makne pf B1 makna aor "dunk" /a m. manǯa-ta/ "He eats the stew by scooping it up with bread"
makało nn "gravy"

maksus part "especially" /m. ugył otidu za voj šej/ "I went there especially just for that one thing"
mak'edonck'i adj "Macedonian" /zborva po m./ "He speaks Macedonian"
mak'edonec nm mak'edonci pl mak'edonka f "Macedonian"
mak'ina nf "machine"
maleck'i adj cf. /malečk'i/ (m.sg. not used)
malečk'i adj "small" (m.sg. not used) /malečka čupa/ "little girl"
mał adj "small" /m. čoek/ "small man"; /mało dete/ "small child"; /mało/ sb. "child" cf /malečk'i/
mału adv małce dim "a little"
mama nf "Mum" (term of endearment for mother; also used by married woman to mother-in-law)
mame intj cf. /majče/
mana nf "fault; ruse, excuse" /šo mu e m./ "What's wrong with him?"; /mi najduva m./ "She finds fault with me"
manʒa nf manʒička dim "stew, meal" /k'e svariš manʒa/ "You make a stew"
mane pf.tr & itr B1 mava ipf A mana aor "beat; brandish"
mangał nm "brazier"
manisto nn "sequin"
man'a nf "lightning" /m. svetka/ "Lightning is flashing" cf. /rofja/
mare, mari part cf. /more/ 2
martinka nf "emblem worn in March" (personal ornament of one strand each of red & white wool worn in March to celebrate the coming of spring & as a fertility symbol) cf. /suče/
marule nn "lettuce"
mas nf "butter" /posna m./ "margarine"
masa nf mase dim "table"
maska nf "mask"
maslinka nf "olive"
masło nn maslence dim "oil" cf. /pliska/
maš mažo nm maži pl "man; husband" /mažot mu/ "her husband"
maša nf "fire-tongs, poker"
mášała intj "Good on you! Congratulations!", [said to child:] "My, how you've grown!"
maščea nf "stepmother"
mašk'i adj "masculine, manly" /maška petra/ "tomboy"
mate ipf.tr B6 smate pf smati aor "beat; crush"

matenica nf "buttermilk" (also yoghurt diluted with water and served as a refreshing drink) cf. /urda/
matika nf "hoe" cf /prašalka/
matka nf "churn"
matorica nf "sow" cf. /biška/
maznik nm "unleavened cheese pastry" cf. /tərga/
maže pf&ipf.tr B6 maži aor "marry off [a daughter]" /se m./ "to get married [of a woman]"; /celi čupi se izmažija/ "all the girls have got married"; /mažena/ "married"; /se premaže/ pf B6 "remarry"
mečka nf "bear" /mečkata sékade k'e igra/, /mečkata sékade k'e dojde/ "It's the same anywhere"
med nm "honey"
mef meo nm meše dim "stomach; womb"
meg'u prp "between" /m. dvajca da sedna/ "sit between two people"
mek adj "soft" /m. lep - suf lep/ "soft (fresh) bread - dry (stale) bread" cf. /omekne/
mele ipf B3 somele pf somle aor "grind, mill" /mi se m. umo/ "I'm confused"
melem nm "ointment"
mene pf.tr&itr B1 menva ipf A mena aor "change; vary" /vremeto nogu menva/ "The weather is very changeable"; /od edno selo do drugo menva/ "It varies from one village to another"
mera nf "measurement"
merak nm "desire, delight" /za m./, /ti e m. da o puliš/ "It's a delight to behold"
meraklija adj.ind "fond; keen" /nogu m. za oro/ "very keen on dancing"
mere ipf.tr B "measure" /m. so okoto/ "measure with the eye"
merisa, mirisa ipf.tr&itr A merisne pf B1 pomerisa pf A "smell" /merisni o/ "Smell it!"
merizmo nn "smell; flavour, aroma"
mesačka nf "cook, f., at funeral" (woman engaged to cook at funeral)
mese ipf.tr&itr B6 mesi aor "knead, make [bread etc.]" /se izmesi lebo/ "The dough is ready"; /doma mesen lep/ "home-made bread"
mesec nm "month; menstruation"
mesečina nf "moon"
meso nn "meat"

mesta nf "soft woollen slipper"
mesto nn "place" /na m. čedo/ "as an adopted child"
meša ipf.tr A izmeša pf "mix" /ne se m. so drug'i lug'e/ "He doesn't mix with other people"; /se mešano/ "everything mixed up together"
met medo nm "honey"
mete ipf B6 iz-, s-mete pf iz-, s-meti aor "sweep (up)" /ne se dometva/ "One can't manage to sweep it all"
metła nf "broom"
metłuška nf "feather brush"
meze nn "appetizer, snack"
mije ipf.tr&itr B4 izmije pf izmi aor "wash" /k'e se izmija/ "I'll have a wash"; /k'e i izmija plačk'ite/ "I'll wash the clothes"
mił adj "kind, dear" /miła mi k'erko/ "My dear daughter" [address in letter]; /pómiła mu e rabotata/ "He prefers this job"
miłoslif -liva adj "kind"
miłva ipf.tr A "love, like" /majkata si o m. deteto/ "A mother loves her child"; /ka miłvaš/ "As you please"
mina pl2 "people" /deset mina/ "ten people" cf. 4.3.3.4.1
miren mirna adj "quiet"
mirisa ipf.tr & itr A cf. /merisa/ /mirisni o/ "Smell it!"
miska nf misir nm "turkey"
misle ipf.tr&itr B6 zamisle pf zamisli aor "think" cf. /smisle/
misur nm "dish, plate" /misurče/ "saucer"
miška nf "armpit" /pod miška/ "under the arm"
mitare ipf.rfl B "moult"
miže ipf.tr&itr B1 zamiže pf zamiža aor "close one's eyes, blink" /miža/ "My eyes are closing, I'm tired"; /i zamizaf očite/ "I closed my eyes"; /koa k'e si i zamiža očite/ "When I die"
mjasva ipf.itr&rfl A "resemble, be alike" /se mjasvat/ "They are alike"; /m. kako lika/ "She looks like Lika" cf. /dogred-va/
mlekar nm "milk collector"
mleko nn mlekse dim "milk"
mlivo, mlio nn "flour [for wedding]"
młak adj młačok -čka dim "lukewarm" /młaka voda/ "luke-warm water"; /młačko mleko/ "lukewarm milk"
młat młada adj "young"
moč nf "urine, piss"
moča, izmočva ipf.tr & itr A izmoča pf izmoča aor "urinate, piss (on)" /si izmoča kreveto/ "He wet his bed"; /k'e si

izmočam gaščite/ "I'll wet my pants"; /k'e se izmočam od smeen'e/ "I'll wet my pants laughing"
mole ipf.rfl B "pray; beg" /se mola na gospo/ "I pray"; /ti se mola/ "please"
molif nm molifo, molivo def molifče dim "pencil"
molitva nf "presentation at church" (presentation of baby at church 4Ø days after birth)
momalka nf "slice [bread]" cf. /fełka/
momče nn "bachelor; (fam.) husband"
momok nm momci pl "agricultural labourer"
monastir nm "monastery"
morck'i adj "sea [as attribute]" /morcka koska/ "shell"
more 1 nn "sea"
more 2, mori part cf. 6.3.11
mornici plt "goosepimples" /m. mi stavat/ "My hair stands on end [also for pleasant surprise]; /m. mi odat po koskite/ "I feel cold"
mos mosto nm mošče dim "bridge"
može 1 ipf.mod B "can"
može 2 part "maybe"
mras mrazo nm "ice" cf. /omraze/
mrežža nf "net; cataract"
mua nf mušička dim "fly"
muabét nm "chat; expression" cf/budałck'i/
mucka nf muce dim "mouth"
mučka nf cf. /məska/
mukaet nm "fervour, care, interest" /od nemukaet/ "for lack of interest", "we couldn't be bothered"; /náprai m. da odiš/ "Get moving!"
murak'ip nm "ink" /si turi m./ "She put ink in (on) her pen"
mustak'i pl mustak sg.nm "moustache"
mušama nf "oilskin; linoleum; plastic"
mušamen adj "waterproof" cf. /perde/
mušmuła nf "loquat"
mutła nf "water-hole"
muzga ipf.rfl A "skate" /se m. na mras/ "skate"
mužže nn "reward [for piece of news]" /daj mi m./ "What will you give me if I tell you?", "What do you know!?"
məče ipf.itr B "keep silent"
məri part cf. /more/ 2
mərse ipf.itr B "eat fatty food" (i.e. not observe fast, break one's fast) cf. /poste/

mərsen mərsna adj "fat; non-fasting" /m. den/ "meat day, non-fast"; /mərsna manǯa/ "fatty (rich) stew" cf. /posen/
mərša nf "body" /ubaa m. ima/ "She has a beautiful body"
mərzlif mərzliva adj "lazy"
mərzne ipf.itr B1 zamərzne pf zamərzna aor "freeze"
məska nf "mule"
məze ipf.tr&itr B6 izməze pf izməzi aor "milk"
na 1 prp "on" /na avgus/ "in August"; /na staro/ "in the old style"; /na starite godin'e/ "in the old days"; /parea za ná_kafe/ "company for coffee"
na 2 intj "here! help yourself!" /ná_ti_o/ "Here it is! Help yourself!"
nacica pf.rfl A nacica aor "drink one's fill [of baby]" /bebeto se nacica/ "The baby drank his fill" cf. /doe/ 1
nadvur adv "outside" /ode n./ "go to the toilet"
naednaš adv "straight away"
nagore pf.tr B6 nagorva ipf "heat up" /da a nagoriš cerepnata/ "Heat the dish"
naigra pf.rfl. A cf. /igra/
najade pf.tr & rfl B2 najadva ipf najade aor. "satisfy; rfl. eat one's fill" /promeneta, najadena, našetana/ "Well dressed, satisfied, after a good outing" cf. /napije/
najazmo nn najazmence dim "garden mint"
najde pf.tr B2 najd(u)va ipf A najde aor "find" /dobro ve najdome/ [answer to /dobro dojdote/]; /ako te fateme zá_partali, nadvur k'e se najdiš/ "If we catch you, you'll be out on your ear!"
nákarši adv "opposite" cf. /otkarši/
nałon nm "scuff, clog"
namigne pf.itr B6 namignuva ipf.A "wink"
napije pf.rfl B4 napi aor "drink up" /napi se/ "Drink up!"; /se napi edno šiše mleko/ "He drank a bottle of milk"
naplue pf.tr B6 naplu(v)a ipf A naplui aor "fly-blow" /muata o naplui mesoto/ "The fly blew the meat"
napoł adv "in two; half-and-half"
napol'ón nm "gold coin"
napre adv "at the head, on ahead" /igra n./ "lead a dance"; /so gospo n./ "God willing"; /taka praéme pó_napre/ "That's what we used to do" cf. /kłade/
napule pf.rfl B6 "get one's fill of looking" cf. /dopule/
napəlnuva ipf.tr A cf. /pəlne/
narača pf.tr A naračva ipf A narača aor "order"

narede pf.tr B6 naredva ipf A "set [table]; pack; organize" cf. /surede/
narode pf.tr B6 "bear [a lot of children]" /imaše narodeno toku deca/ "She had born so many children"; /iznarodi dosta/ "She has had quite a few children" cf. /rode/
narot narodo nm "people"
nasitva ipf.tr A cf. /site/
nasone adv "in one's sleep" cf. /sonva/
nastrede adv "in the middle" /n. venčan'e/ "in the middle of the wedding" cf. /strede/
naš prn "our" /naš je/ "he is one of us"; /po naše/ "in our language"
natre adv "inside" /od n./ "from inside"
navale pf.rfl B6 navalva ipf navali aor "lie down; fall down" /stiso se navali/ "The wall fell down" cf. /padinva/
navede pf.rfl B2 navedva ipf "bend down, bend over"
nazajm adv "as a loan"
nazat adv "back; backward" /ela si n./ "Come back!"; /gərcija je nogu n./ "Greece is very backward (underdeveloped)"
názemi adv "on the ground" cf. /zemja/
ne part (expresses negation) cf. 6.3.2
nebo nn "sky; heaven"
nedela nf "week"
nédela nf "Sunday"
nékade adv "somewhere"
nékako adv "somehow"
neka, nek part "let, may" (optative part.) /n. dojde/ "Let him come"; /n. vərne/ "Let it rain", "It can rain for all I care" cf. 6.3
nekni adv "the other day" /n. večer/ "the night before last"
nek'e ipf.def nek'e 1 sg "not want, refuse"
nema ipf.tr A "have not" /n./[ips.] "there isn't (aren't) any" cf. /ima/
neraica nf "worm" cf. /cərvec/
neres nerezo nm "boar" cf. /kərmnak/
nese ipf.itr B "nest"
neščo 1 nn "thing"
neščo 2 prn "something"
nevesta nf nevestička dim "bride" (also daughter-in-law or sister-in-law to husband's family)
nijet nm "intention" /šo n. imaš/ "What are your plans?"

níkade adv "nowhere"
níkako adv "no way"
nikne pf.itr B1 niknuva ipf A nikna aor "come up, come out"
nis <niz> prp "down, around, about, among" /n. kuk'ite sedea ask'eri/ "There were soldiers all around the houses"; /nis čenkata/ "in amongst the sweetcorn"
nisok niska adj "low; small [person]" /nisko čoeče/ "little man" cf. /visok/
niša ipf.tr A "shake"
niščo prn "nothing"
nitu 1 conj "neither, nor" /nitu... nitu.../ "neither... nor..."
nitu 2 part "not even" cf. 6.3.3
niva nf nivje pl nifče dim "field" cf. /ora/
niza nf "garland [of capsicum]"
niže ipf.tr B "thread" /i n. piperkite/ "She threads the capsicum into a garland [for drying and preservation]"
nof noa adj "new" cf. /čae/
noft nm "nail (on finger, toe)"
noga nf noʒi pl "foot, leg" /so noʒite odeme/ "We go on foot"
nogu adv "much, many; very" /nogu lug'e/ "many people"; /nogu star/ "very old" cf. /premnogu/
nokt nm cf. /noft/
nos nm "nose"
nose ipf.tr B "carry; wear" /nose cərno/ "mourn"; /su zdravje da si o nosiš/ "May you wear it in health! Congratulations [on your new coat (etc.)]!" cf. /donese/
nosokomka nf "nurse"
noš 1 nožo nm nože dim "knife" cf. /natoče/
noš 2, nošja nf "night" /nošja/, /nošta/ "at night"; cf. /saanoš/, /polnoš/
nošvi plt "kneading trough"
novina 1 nf "piece of news"
novina 2 nf "new moon"
noxt nm cf. /noft/
nožici plt "scissors"
nunka nf nunke voc "wife of /nunko/; godmother"
nunko nm "best man; godfather" (the best man at the wedding automatically becomes godfather to the children of the marriage) cf. /klade/
obelva ipf.tr A "bleach" /si a obelvam kosata/ "I'm bleaching my hair"
obese pf.tr B6 obesva ipf A obesi aor "hang; hang up"

obiska ipf.tr A "try, test (taste)" /o o. čaeto/ "He tries the tea"; /a o. manʒata/ "He tries the stew"
obleče pf.tr B2 oblekva ipf A obleče aor "dress; (rfl.) get dressed" cf /presleče/
obłačen obłačna adj "cloudy" /o. den/ "cloudy day"; /oblačno vreme/ "cloudy weather"
obłak nm "cloud"
obroj nm "rash" /bebeto ima (fati) o./ "The baby has (got) a rash"
obue pf.tr B4 obuva ipf obu aor "put on (socks, shoes)" rfl. "put on one's socks and shoes"; /o. čorapi/ "put on socks"; /si go obuf i si go oblekuf deteto/ "I dressed my son and put on his shoes & socks"
očof nm "stepfather"
odaa nf odajče dim "room"
ode ipf.itr B2 ojde aor "go" /o. ná_skol'e (ná_cərkva)/ "go to school (church)"; /potkvas o. so zełnik/ "Yoghurt goes well with *zelnik*" cf. /otide/
odele pf.tr B6 odeli aor "separate" /sino se odeli ot tatko mu/ "The son separated [his land] from his father"
oduče pf.rfl odučva ipf A oduči aor "forget; become unaccustomed"
oʒak nm "chimney, hearth"
od_zadi adv "from behind, behind"
od_zgora adv "from above" cf. /poture/
oe ipf.itr cf. /ode/ /su zdravje da si ojte/ "Farewell" [said by host, cf. /zdravje/]
ofca nf "sheep" /i čua ofcite/ "He looks after the sheep"
ofčar nm "shepherd"
ofčk'i adj "sheep's" /ofčko meso/ "lamb; mutton"
ogan ogno nm ognoi pl ogani pl3 "fire" /fate o./ "catch fire"
ogledało nn "mirror"
ogłamnik nm "halter"
ognišče nn "hearth"
oka nf unit of weight (4ØØ drams (q.v.) or 1225 gr., approx. 2.5 lbs)
oko nn oči pl oče dim "eye" /dve oči/ "two eyes"; /k'e ti i iskorne očite/ "She'll poke your eyes out"
ołómłani adv "the year before last"
omekne pf.itr B2 omeknuva ipf A omekna aor "go soft" /omekna zełniko/ "The pie-crust has softened up"; /omeknati se krušite/ "Have the pears softened up?" cf. /mek/

omraze pf.itr B6 omrazva ipf A omrazi aor "ice up" /se omrazi frizata/ "The fridge has iced up" cf. /mras/
ónak'i adv "over there"
opak adj "back-to-front" /o. čoek/ "contrary (unreasonable) person"
opaku adv "back-to-front"
opečalen -čalna adj "provident"
opijane pf.tr B6 opijanva ipf A opijani aor "make drunk, rfl. get drunk" cf. /pijane/
opita pf.tr A opitva ipf A opita aor "ask"
ora ipf.tr & itr A izora pf "plough" /i oram nivjeto/ "I plough the fields"
orač nm oračka nf "ploughman, -woman; peasant"
oračk'i adj "agricultural" /o. grat/ "agricultural town"
oračlók nm "agriculture"
oralija nm & f "dancer"
oref nm orei pl orefče dim "walnut"
oris orizo nm orišče dim "rice"
oro nn "dance" /igram oro/ "I dance"
osłabe pf.itr B3 osłabva ipf A osłabe aor "lose weight" cf. /słap/
osłabnuva ipf.itr A cf. /osłabe/
osmak nm "half-a-quarter, bag" (measure of capacity of grain)
osnoa nf "raw wool, warp"
osor ostra adj "severe" /o. svekor/ "severe father-in-law" (antonym: /krotok svekor/); /ostra žena/ "harsh woman"
ostae pf.tr B6 ostava ipf A ostai aor "leave; allow" /se ostaija/ "They separated, got divorced"; /tuka ne te ostavaa da teraš bərzu/ "They don't let you drive fast here"
ostane pf.itr B1 ostanva ipf A ostana aor "stay" also "fall pregnant", sc. /o. trudna/, hence /ostana/ [aor.] "She is pregnant", /ostanata/ "pregnant"
ostare ipf.itr B3 ostarva ipf A ostare aor "grow old"
ostine pf.itr B1 ostinva ipf A ostina aor "cool down, go cold" /mlekoto ostinva/ "The milk is cooling down"; /mi ostina kafeto/ "My coffee has gone cold"
ostre ipf.tr B naostre pf "sharpen" /k'e o naostra/ "I'll sharpen it [pencil]" cf. /natoče/
osune pf.rfl B1 osunva ipf A osuna aor "wake up; [ips.] dawn" /dobro osunvan'e/ "Good Night!" [lit. "Good awakening!"] cf. /polnoš/

ot <od> prp "from" /dojde od okrit/ "He arrived from Ohrid"; /masa od dərvo/ "table made of wood"; /ot koa sne tuka/ "since we arrived"
otelva ipf.rfl A cf. /tele/ 2
oteł nm "hotel"
otepa pf.tr A otepa aor "kill, murder" /se otepame od oro igran'e [metaphor.]/ "We danced till we fell over"; /otepan/ "dead tired" cf. /tepa/
oti 1 adv.int "why" cf. /zaščo/
oti 2 conj "because"
oti 3 conj "that" cf. 6.2.2.1
otide pf.itr B2 otide aor "go" cf. /ode/
otkarši adv "opposite" cf. /nakarši/
otpee pf.tr B1 otpeva ipf A otpea aor "sing; read" cf. /prepee/
otplete pf.tr B6 cf. /plete/
otrese pf.tr B otresva ipf A "untie"
otrue pf.tr B4 otruva ipf A otru aor "poison" /se napi bilka i se otru/ "He drank poison and died"
otruvač nm otruvačka nf "poison"
ótsefte adv "in the beginning"
otspreden otspredna adj "front" /otspredna vrata/ "front door"; /otspredn'o stis/ "the front wall"
otspredi, ótspredi adv "in front" /o. stoe/ "He is standing in front" cf. /napre/
óttade adv "from over there"
otvore pf.tr B6 otvorva ipf A otvori aor "open" cf. /zatvore/
otərkale pf.rfl B1 otərkala aor "turn over"
oves ovezo nm.nc "oats"
ózdoła adv "below, (from) underneath"
pa 1 adv cf. /pak/
pa 2 conj "but; while" cf. 6.2.1.2
padne pf.itr B1 padinva ipf A padna aor "fall"
paek nm paezi pl paeže dim "spider"
paežina nf "cobweb; cataract [on eye]"
pajka nf pajče dim pator nm "duck"
pak adv "again"
pale ipf.tr&itr B6 zapale pf B6 "light; burn; heat" /da pališ svešča/ "light a candle" cf. /zapale/
palec nm "thumb"
pała ipf.tr A po-, pot-pała pf "look for, seek; care for" cf. /bara/
pałaf adj cf. /ułaf/
pałto nn pałtence dim "coat"

pambuk nm "cotton"
pampur nm "train" /voden p./ "steamer"
panag'ir nm "festival, patrocinium"
pandełnik nm "Monday" /čis p./ "first Monday in Lent"
pandofła nf "slipper"
panica nf "dish"
pantaloni plt "trousers"
papok nm "umbilical cord"
para 1 nf "steam"
para 2 nf pare dim paričk'i, pl dim "money" (usu. pl.)
para 3 ipf.tr A ispara pf ispara aor "undo" [knitting etc.] cf. /otplete/
párabrát nm páraséstra nf "half brother, - sister"
páramájka nf páratátko "stepmother, -father"
parče nn "part, piece"
parea nf "company" /k'e ti praa p./ "I'll keep you company" cf. /na/ 1
partał nm "thing, rag, personal effect" /soberi si partalite i begaj/ "Grab your things and get out!"; /čergite se praat so partali/ "Rugs are made from rags" cf. /najde/
pase ipf.tr&itr B "graze" /kravite se vərnuvat ot pasen'eto/ "The cows are coming home"; /k'e se napasat/ "They will graze their fill" cf. /ispase/
paška nf pašče dim "tail; stalk"
pat 1 nm patče dim pat-oi,-išča pl "road, way; journey"
pat 2 nm pati pl "time" /dva pati/ "twice"; /edni pati/ "sometimes"
patat nm "potato" cf. /kərtul/
pate ipf.tr&itr B6 patva ipf.A pati aor "suffer" /patif lošo/ "I suffered a misfortune" cf. /bela/
paterica nf "walking-stick"
pati part "for heaven's sake!" (expresses impatience) cf. 6.3.12
patlišan nm "aubergine, eggplant"
pator nm cf. /pajka/
pazar nm "market, shops"
paze ipf.(rfl) B "pay attention; watch out" /pazi se/ "Be careful" cf. /spaze/
pečalba nf "earning money; earnings"
pečale ipf.tr&itr B6 spečale pf spečali aor "earn money; provide; win" /p. za kuk'ata/ "save up for the house"
peče ipf.tr&itr B2 pečen ppp "bake" /p. leb/ "bake bread"; /p./ [ips.] "It's boiling hot" cf. /ispeče/

pečiło nn "roast meat"
peda nf "span"
pee ipf.tr&itr B "sing; read; bless" /popo i p. pupčin'ata/ "The priest blesses the small loaves"; /o pea risto/ "I commemorate [the late] Risto [with a service]" cf. /otpee/
pefka nf "pine-tree"
pekoł nm "hell; great heat"
penžera nf "window"
pen'a, pena nf "froth, suds"
pepeł nf "ash" /a sobra pepełta/ "Did you clear up the ash?"
peperiga nf cf. /peperuda/
peperuda nf peperutka dim "butterfly"
pepon nm "rockmelon (Cucumis melo)"
peralna nf "laundry"
perde nn "curtain" /mušameno p./ "blind"
perduf perduo nm perdui pl "feather"
pere ipf.tr B1 ispere pf ispra aor "wash [clothes]"
pernica nf perniče dim "cushion"
pero nn perja pl perce dim "skin [of onion]"
perustija nf cf. /pirustija/
pesna nf "song"
pesok nf "sand" /pesokta je žəta/ "Sand is yellow"
peš adj "on foot" /ti k'e odiš p./,/nije k'e odeme peši/
pešnik nm "loaf (of bread)"
peta nf "heel"
peteł nm "cock, rooster"
petica nf "heel"
petlaška nf "buttonhole"
petlička nf "button"
petok nm "Friday"
pijačka nf "drink"
pijan adj "drunk"
pijane ipf.rfl B6 opijane pf "get drunk" /mažite se ispijanija celi/ "The men all got drunk"
pijanica nm & f "drunkard"
pije ipf.tr&itr B ispije pf ispi aor "drink" /se ispije/ "drink one's fill"; /p. tutun/ "smoke" cf. /napije/
pika ipf.tr A pikne pf B1 pikna aor "put (into)" rfl. "get involved, stick one's nose into"
pile nn pilence dim "chicken" /rano p. rano pee/ "The early bird catches the worm"
pinec nm pinci pl "distinctive Balkan shoes" /opinci/

piper nm & f piper-o, -ta def "pepper" /cərn(a) p./ "black pepper"; /cərvena p./ "red pepper"; /búkova p./ "chilli" cf. /lut/
piperka nf "capsicum" cf. /pəlne/
pirustija nf "tripod for open fire"
pisa nf "tar" /pisata se turva po kamen'eto, ǯadeto koa se prae/ "Tar is poured onto the stones when the road is being made"
pisar nm "secretary"
pismo nn "writing"
piše ipf&pf B1 napiše pf (na)pisa aor "write" /i taa se pisa/ "She also registered"; /denes nogu napisame/ "We've written a whole lot today"; /taka mu e pisano/ "Such is his fate (his luck)"
pišman adj.ind "repentant, sorry" /se stori p./ "He was sorry"
pita ipf.itr A "beg"
pitač nm pitačka nf "beggar"
pitulica nf "pancake" /p. o napraif/ "I flattened him"
pizme ipf.tr B "hate"
plačk'i plt "clothes; odds and ends" cf. /šire/
plakne ipf.tr B1 cf. /isplakva/
plešči plt "back"
pleška nf "shoulder-blade"
plete ipf.tr & itr B6 (i)splete pf (i)spleti aor "knit; crochet; weave" /edna mesta spletif/ "I have knitted one slipper"; /pleteni čorapi/ "knitted socks"; /otplete/ pf. /raspletva/ ipf. "undo"
pletenka nf "plait"
pleva nf "chaff"
plevna nf "barn (for straw)" cf. /ambar/
pliska 1 ipf.itr A ispliska pf "spatter" /masloto p./ "The fat is spattering"
pliska 2 ipf.tr A plisne pf B1 "sprinkle with water, water" /o p. cimentoto (so voda)/ "He is watering the cement [to prevent cracking]"
plisne vtr "splash" /so voda/
plitar nm "mud brick" /stišat kuk'a so plitari/ "They are building a house of mud bricks"
plitok plitka adj "shallow"
plode ipf.rfl B zaplode in zaplodi aor "breed, reproduce"
plue ipf.itr B plune pf B6 pluna aor "spit; dribble" /me pluna vu liceto/ "He spat in my face" cf. /strame/

płače ipf.itr B1 płaka aor "cry, weep"
płádnina nf "afternoon" /na p./ "in the afternoon"
płaka nf "cement block; x-ray" /dokturo izvade p./ "The doctor took an x-ray" cf. /ture/
płamka ipf.itr A "chatter, spout off"
płanina nf płanin'e pl "mountain"
płaninsk'i adj "mountain [attr.]" cf. /čae/
płanučka nf "strawberry"
płaše ipf.tr B6 upłaše pf upłaši aor "scare, frighten" /se p./ "He's scared"
płašlif -liva adj "timid" /p. maš/ "nervous Nellie"
płate pf B6 płatva ipf A płati aor "pay; rfl.: pay off debts" /gospo da mu p./ "May God repay them!"
płatno nn płatnence dim "linen"
płoča nf "slab; shoe (for oxen)" (also grammophone record)
płužica nf "steel plough" cf. /rało/
po prp "after; according to; along" /po cigari/"to get cigarettes";/pó_tebe/"after you"; /po dveste godini nije k'e se storeme lug'e/ "We will be (civilized) people in 2ØØ years' time"
pobole pf.rfl B6 pobolva ipf A poboli aor "fall ill"
pobratim nm "second witness at wedding; special friend adopted as brother"
pobratimica nf "wife of /pobratim/"
počifka nf "rest, holiday" /ná_p./ "for a holiday"
počine pf.itr B počinva ipf A "rest, take a rest"
počne pf B1 poč(nu)va ipf počna aor "begin" /svadbata počva večerta/ "The wedding begins in the evening" cf. /zavate/
počude pf B6 počudva ipf.A počudi aor "cast an evil spell, confuse" /te počudi/ "He (She) has got you all confused"
počudišče nn "evil spell" /małoto mi se počudi; mu zabai edna žena ot p./ "My child was bewitched; a woman treated him with magic and he recovered from the evil spell"
podare pf.tr B6 podarva ipf A podari aor "give (someone a gift)"
podarok nm "gift"
podbere 1 pf.tr B1 podberva ipf A podbra aor "take up [a hem]"
podbere 2 pf.tr B1 podberva ipf A podbra aor "make fall pregnant" /se podbra ženata i ostana trudna/ "The woman was treated with witchcraft & fell pregnant"
podmlade pf.tr B6 podmladi aor "make younger, rejuvenate"
podnoe pf.tr B6 podnoi aor "renew"

poele pf B poela, poelva ipf A "order, command" /i poel(v)a rabotnicite/ "He gives orders to the workmen"; /domak'ino te poelva/ "The boss's in charge"
pəpəšec nm pəpəška nf pəpəfci pl "person from Pəpəzani"
poftor adv "again"
pogača nf "round loaf of bread"
pogode 1 pf.tr B6 pogodva ipf A pogodi aor "prepare"
pogode 2 pf.tr B6 pogodva ipf A pogodi aor "happen; guess" /se pogodiv doma/ "I happened to be at home"
pogon nm "measure of land (approx. 1/1Ø ha or 1ØØØ sq.m.)
pogrobe pf.tr B6 pogrobva ipf A pogrobi aor "bury"
pojas nm "belt (folklore); generation" cf. /remen/ "modern (western) belt"
pokanva ipf.tr A pokane pf pokani aor "invite" cf. /vika/
pokłon nm "wedding-present"
pok'e, pópok'e adv "more" (comparative of /nogu/)
pole nn "plain"
poleka adv "slowly"
poł nf "half" /ja od véligden nedela í_poł ijame/ "It's a week and a half since Easter" cf /polun'a/ 1
połnoš "midnight" /na p./ "at midnight"; /ot p. osunva druk'o den/ "The next day begins at midnight"
połun'a 1 nf "half"
połun'a 2 nf "lower back" cf. /bole/
połup nm "cover"
połupe pf.tr B6 polupva ipf A polupi aor "cover"
pol'ak nm "(field) ranger"
pol'anec nm pol'ani pl pol'anka nf "plain-dweller"
pomine pf.tr&itr B1 pominva ipf A pomina aor "pass" /o pominame lerin/ "We passed Lerin"; /kako pominate/ "How did it go?"; /ubao pominame/ "We enjoyed ourselves"; /mu pomina/ "He recovered" cf. /ask'er/
pomoš nm pomošta def "help" /golem p./; /mi treba nin p./ (cf. 4.3.2.5)
pomože pf.itr B6 pomožva ipf A pomoži aor "help" /mu pomožva/ "She helps him"
pondiła nf "cow-house; cattle-shed"
pop nm pope voc "priest"
popag'a nf popag'e voc "priest's wife" cf. /popaja/
popaja nf "priest's wife"
popara nf "pap" (bread soaked in milk)
popłak nm "complaint"
poprae pf.tr B6 poprava ipf.A poprai aor "repair"

porasten "grown, grown up" cf. /raste/ 1
porežva ipf.tr A poreže pf B1 cf. /reže/
porože nn "short piece of rope, string"
porta nf "gate"
portokał nm "orange"
poruča 1 pf.tr&itr A poručva ipf A "have a snack, breakfast"
poruča 2 pf.tr & itr A cf. /ruča/
poručok nm "breakfast"
poručvan'e nn "snack"
posedok nm "visit" /ná_posedok/ "for a visit, to stay"
posen, posni posna adj "fast" /posen (posni) den/ "fast day (Wednesday & Friday)"; /posna mas/ "margarine" cf. /mərsen/
posestrima nf "bridesmaid"
posleden -dna adj "last"
postane pf.itr B1 postanva ipf A postana aor "get tired" /postanat/ "tired"
poste ipf.itr B6 zaposte in zaposti aor "fast" /i isposti celi posti/ "He kept all the fasts"
postele pf.tr & itr B1 postelva ipf A posła aor "lay; set [table]; make [bed]" /k'e si p./ "He'll lie down"
posteła nf "soft furnishings"
postojano adv "constantly"
pot 1 nf "sweat"
pot 2 <pod> prp "under, below"
pótak'i adv "further away"
potkvas nm "yoghurt"
potne ipf.itr B1 is-, s-potne pf is-, s-potna aor "sweat"
potom nm "deluge" /lele, p. k'e dojde/ "Oh dear! There'll be a flood now"
potpeza nf "joke" cf. /majtap/
potpiše pf.tr&itr B2 potpišva ipf A potpisa aor "sign"
poture pf.tr B6 "pour" /k'e poturiš gazja od_zgora/ "You pour kerosine on top" cf. /ture/
póvak'i adv "closer" cf. /vak'i/
pozdraf nm "greeting" /(nogu) p. od/ "regards from"
pozdrave pf.tr B6 pozdrava ipf A pozdravi aor "greet"
poznae 1.sg. poznam pf.tr irr poznava ipf pozna aor "recognize" /te poznaf/ "I recognized you"
prae ipf.tr B6 naprae pf naprai aor "do, make; rfl.: get, become" /padnav vu kałta i se napraif jok/ "I fell in the mud and got dirty"; /gərk se p./ "He pretends to be a Greek" cf. /šo/

praf prava pra(v)o adj "right; upright; straight" /praf si/ "You're right"; /prao/ (adv.) "straight ahead"
pran'e nn "washing" cf. /pere/
pras prazo nm prašče dim "leeks"
prase nn "piglet" cf. /biška/
praska nf "peach"
prašalka nf prašalče dim "small hoe" cf. /matika/
praše ipf.tr&itr B6 ispraše pf ispraši aor "hoe" /a isprašiv baščata/ "I hoed the garden"
prate ipf.tr B6 isprate pf "farewell [guests]"
pravina nf "truth" (also used as intj. when someone sneezes); /tera p./ "He is very honest"
prazen prazna adj "empty" /p. misur/ "empty plate"; /prazno šiše/ "empty bottle"
prazne ipf.tr B1 isprazne pf isprazni aor "empty"
praznik nm "holiday"
preboj preboo nm "ground grain [fodder]"
preče ipf.itr B "hinder, stop" /toj mi p./ "He's is my way, he's a nuisance"
prečeka pf.tr A prečekva ipf prečeka aor "receive, meet [guests]"
prečeklif -liva adj "hospitable"
prečka nf "hindrance, problem"
prede ipf.tr&itr B isprede pf ispredi aor "spin"
predeno nn "wool (for knitting)" /od vəlnata se prae p./ "wool for knitting is made from the fleece"
prefərle pf.rfl B6 prefərla ipf A prefərli aor "overflow, boil over"
pregač nm "apron"
pregore pf.rfl B6 pregorva ipf A pregorime aor "have a chat, discuss" cf. /lafe/
prejade pf.rfl B2 prejade aor "overeat" cf. /blua/
prekar nm "surname"
prekaran adj "hopelessly stupid"
prekarva 1 ipf.rfl A "be called" /kako se p./ "What's his surname?"
prekarva 2 ipf.rfl A "abuse" /se prekarvaa na tebe šo ne znaiš (ti se karaa)/ "They abuse you because you don't know"
prekaže ipf.tr B1 prekažva ipf A prekaza aor "repeat"
preku prp "across, through, via" /p. rekata/ "across (through) the river"; /p. lerin/ "via Lerin"

prekərcne pf.itr B1 prekərcna aor "get better, recover health"
prekərste 1 pf.tr B6 "rename" cf. /kərste/ 1
prekərste 2 pf.rfl B6 prekərstuva ipf A cf. /kərste/ 2
prémnogu adv "too much" cf. /nogu/
preprae pf.tr B6 preprava ipf A preprai aor "change, renovate"
prepsa ipf.ips A "be worth, useful" /ne o (te) p. za niščo/ "He's (You're) no good for anything"
prepule pf.tr B6 prepulva ipf A prepuli aor "examine" /dokturo o prepulva deteto/ "The doctor examines the boy"; /prepul-van'e/ "examination, check-up"
presen presna adj "fresh"
presleče pf.tr B2 preslekva ipf A presleče aor "change [cloth-es]" /se p./ "get changed" cf. /obleče/
prespe pf.itr B1 prespuva aor prespa aor "take a nap" cf. /spije/
prestigne pf.itr B1 prestigna aor "arrive in time" /prestignav da o vida toa/ "I was born long enough ago to have seen that myself"
presuče pf.tr B1 presukva ipf A presuka aor "roll out again"
pret <pred> prp "in front of; before" /češa préd_neo/ "with a glass in front of him"; /pret snego/ "before the snow (came)"; /pred da/ conj "before"
preves prevezo nm "veil"
prevərne pf.tr B1 prevərnuva ipf A "turn over" cf. /g'onče/
prezeva ipf.rfl A prezene pf B1 prezena aor cf. /prozeva/
prezovre pf.itr B3 prezovre aor "boil over" cf. /vare/
pričeska, -česna nf "communion, eucharist"
pričeste pf.rfl B6, B1 pričes(tu)va ipf A pričes-ti,-na aor "take communion"
prijatel nm prijatelka nf "friend"
prika nf cf. /ruo/
prikaska nf "legend" cf. /bábini prikask'i/
prikazna nf "story, yarn"
prikažva ipf.itr&rfl A "chat" /se naisprikažva/ "talk till one can talk no more" cf/ing'ilisk'i/
prileżen -ležna adj "well-groomed"
prodava ipf.tr & itr A prodade pf B2 prodade aor "sell" /səti (i) isprodadoa/ "They sold all of them"
promene pf.tr B1 promenva ipf A promena aor "dress up" /promenet/, /promenat/ "dressed up"; /se promenva ubao, fudułka e/ "She dresses well, she's vain"

pros prosta adj prosti var "simple" /pros čoek/ "simpleton"; /prosti si ti/ "You're a simple person!"
proste pf.tr & itr B6 proščava ipf A prosti aor "forgive" /o proste gospo/, /bog da go proste/ "God rest his soul"; /prostena si/ "You're forgiven"
prostu adv "upright" /da stoiš p. (sednat)/ "Stand up (Stay seated)"
proščačka nf "forgiving" (Sunday before Lent)
protíf prp "against" /p. ni ode/ "It goes against us"
prozefka nf "yawn" cf. /zejka/
prozeva ipf.itr prozene ipf prozena aor "yawn" cf. /zee/
prusa ipf.itr A "be diligent" /nevestata p./ "She is a hard-working wife"
psałva ipf.itr A "chant, sing at mass" [refers to the duties of a cantor]
pso(f)isa pf.itr A pso(f)isva ipf pso(f)isa aor "die [of animals]"
psue ipf.itr B "swear"
pufka nf "pompon"
puka 1 ipf.itr A "shoot"
puka 2 ipf.tr&itr A pukne pf B1 ispuka pf A "break open, split" /k'e pukne od inat/ "He is going to explode from frustration"; /deteto k'e me pukne/ "The child will drive me mad"
pukanici plt "popcorn"
pule ipf.tr&itr B6 ispule pf ispuli aor "look (at)" /se ispulva vu žena/ "cast lecherous glances at a woman"; /se p. mlat/ "He looks young"
puł nm "postage stamp"
pupka nf pupče, pupale dim "roll, small loaf; rissole" cf. /k'ofte/
pupunec nm pupunci pl "bud"
puro nn "cigar"
pusti adj "wretched, cursed" /nema šo da jade pustjo/ "The poor wretch has nothing to eat"; /pusti gərci/ "These wretched Greeks!"
pušče pf.tr B6 pušča ipf A pušči aor "send; permit; turn on" /mu puščif pismo/ "I sent him a letter"; /o pušča radioto/ "He turns on the radio"; /puščenoto/ (name of a dance)
puška nf "gun"
pəlen pəłna adj "full" /pəlna mesečina/ "full moon"
pəłne ipf.tr B1 napəłne pf napəłna aor "fill" /sekoj den a p. koata/"She fills the bucket every day";/košo o pəłneme słama/"We fill the basket with straw"; /pəłnati piperki/ "stuffed peppers"

pəpəšec nm pəpəška nf pəpəfci pl "person from Pəpəžani" cf. /pəpəžanec/
pəpəžanec nm pəpəžanci pl pəpəška nf cf. /pəpəšec/
pərc intj (onomatopoetic exclamation on hearing someone fart)
pərcalki plt "fried rice" (dish made of rice with leeks or onions)
pərč nm "billygoat" (also term of abuse)
pərde ipf.itr B "fart"
pərle 1 nn pərlence dim "baby donkey"
pərle 2 ipf.tr B6 ispərle pf ispərli aor "scorch" /a pərleme kokoškata pred da a gotveme/ "We scorch the chicken before cooking it"
pərpało nn "motorcycle"
pərs pərsto nm pərsti pl "finger"
pərska ipf.tr A ispərska pf "spray"
pərsten nm "ring" /strebren p./ "silver ring"
pərtał nm cf. /partał/
pərven adv "at first" cf. /dopərva/
pərže ipf.tr B6 pot-, ispərže pf pot-, ispərži aor "fry" /pərženi kərtuli/ "fried potatoes, French fries"
pəržok nm "snail"
rabota 1 nf "work" /fati r./ "She has found a job"
rabota 2 ipf.itr A "work"
raboten rabotna adj "industrious" ant. /mərzlif/
rabotnik nm "workman"
račka nf "handle"
rados nf "happiness"
radosen radosna adj "happy, joyful"
radva ipf.tr A izradva pf izradva aor "make happy, delight" rfl. "be happy, rejoice"
rajat nm "peace & quiet; life of ease" /so r./ "at a gentle pace, taking it easy"
raka nf raci pl "arm, hand" /v raka/ "into (his) hands"; /ná_raka mu dava/ "She waits on him hand and foot"; /zá_raka/ (name of a dance, kalamatianós)
rakaf nm "sleeve"
rak'ija nf "ouzo"
rało 1 nn "wooden plough" /so rałoto praéme trapje, so płužica sadéme/ "We made rows with the wooden plough, we used the steel plough to sow"
rało 2 nn "pair" /dve rała gašči/ "two pairs of pants" cf. /vərve/

ramen ramna adj "smooth"
ramo nn ramen'a pl "shoulder" /zá_ramo/ (name of a dance, hasapikosérviko)
ran adj "early" (m.sg. not used) /rano pile rano pee/ "The early bird catches the worm"; /ranoto/ "in the morning"
rana nf "food" /sporet ranata šo k'e a jaat/ "depending on the food they eat"
rane 1 ipf.tr B6 narane pf narani aor "feed"
rane 2 ipf.tr B6 rani aor "injure" /se rani teško (lesno)/ "He was severely (slightly) injured"; /se ranif na bojo/ "I was injured in the war"; /ranet/ "injured"
rano adv "early"
rasade pf.tr B rasadva ipf A "plant out"
rasat nm "onion seedling"
rasipe pf.tr B1 rasipva ipf A rasipa aor "ruin; pull down" /i rasipaa cərkvite/ "They pulled down the churches"; rfl. "break; go bad [of food]"; /vremeto se rasipa/ "The weather has broken"
raskərsnica nf "crossroads"
rasleče pf.tr B2 raslekva ipf A rasleče aor "undress; rfl. get undressed" cf. /obleče/
raso nn "priest's frock"
rasoł nm cf. /rasuł/ cf. /zelka/
raspłače pf.rfl B1 raspłakva ipf raspłaka aor "burst into tears"
raste 1 ipf.itr B3 poraste pf poraste aor "grow" /bebeto nogu poraste/ "The baby has grown a lot"; /da mi rastiš golem(a)/ "Many happy returns!" [said to child]; /porasten/ "grown up"
raste 2 ipf.tr B3, B6 poraste pf porast-e, -i aor "rear; cultivate" /babata mi o r. deteto/ "My mother is taking care of my baby"; /decata i izrastef/ "I raised the children"; /rasteme piperki/ "We grow capsicums"
rasture pf.tr B6 rasturva ipf A rasturi aor "destroy, pull down" rfl. "fall down": /kuk'ata se rasturva/ "The house is falling down" cf. /rasipe/
rasuł, rasoł nm "pickled cabbage"
rašetka nf "stroll; excursion" /za r./ "for a stroll; for an excursion" cf. /šeta/
razbere pf.tr & itr B1 razberva ipf A razbra aor "understand" /ne razberva (od) ništčo/ "He hasn't got a clue"; /razbran/ "reasonable"; /nerazbran čoek/ "unreasonable (contrary) person"
razboj razboo nm "loom"

razbude pf.tr B6 razbudva ipf A razbudi aor "wake"
razdue pf.rfl B4 razduva ipf A razdu aor "start blowing" /veter se razdu/ "It started to blow"; /veter se razduva/ "A wind is coming up"
razduma pf.rfl A "change one's mind" /se razdumav za tuka/ "I got homesick"
razgale pf.tr B6 razgalva ipf razgali aor "spoil [child]" /babite i razgalvat decata/ "Grandmothers spoil the children"
razłabaen adj "loose"
razvesele pf.tr B6 razveseli aor "cheer up"
ražen nm "spit"
rebro nn "rib"
réčisi adv "about, approximately"
reka nf "river"
rema nf "viral infection"
remen nm remče dim "belt" cf. /brič/
repa nf "beet" /cərvena r./ "beetroot"; /beła r./ "sugar beet"
repač nm "blockhead" [term of abuse] /r. eden!/
rešeto nn "sifter (for grain)"
rešme nn "chain; necklace; zip"
ret redo nm "order" /so r. neka bide/ "First things first"
retko, na retko adv "seldom"
rezan nm "(piece of) white cheese"
reže ipf.tr B1 poreže pf poreza aor "cut, cut up; prune (tree)"
riba nf "fish"
ribar nm "fisherman"
rika ipf.itr A "moo" /kravata r./
ripa, ripka ipf.itr A ripne pf B1 "jump"
risjanin nm risjani pl risjanka f "Christian"
rit rido nm "hill"
rode pf.tr&itr B6 rodva ipf A rodi aor "give birth, bear" /tamo mi se izrodija decata/ "All my children were born there" cf. /narode/
roden den nm "birthday"
rodnina nm & f "relative, relation" cf. /kərf/
rofja nf "lightning" /padna edna r./ "Lightening struck"
rok rogo nm "horn"
rone ipf.tr B1 iz-, na-rone pf iz-, na-rona aor "crumble" /se izrona lebo/ "The bread has crumbled"; /mu naronaf siren'e/ "I crumbled some cheese for him"
ronka nf ronče dim "crumb"

ropa ipf.itr A ropne pf B1 ropna aor "knock; make a noise" /r. na vratata/ "knock at the door"
rosa nf "dew"
rose ipf.itr B "drizzle"
roška nf "twig"
ruba nf "national costume"
ruča pf&ipf.itr A ruča aor "take (have) lunch" cf /poruča/ 2
ručok nm "lunch" /na zdravje ručoko/ "Enjoy your lunch!"; /za r. praea/ "They were arranging it for lunchtime"; /po r./ "after lunch, p.m."
rufet nm "national dress"
ruguzina nf "seagrass mat"
rulenec nm rulenci pl rulenka nf "person from Rula"
ruo nn "dowry" cf. /prika/
ruska ipf.itr A "rustle" /lisjeto r./ "The leaves rustle"; /lebo r./ "The bread is crunchy"
saač nm "metal cover for oven dish" cf. /cerepna/
saanoš adv "all night" cf. /noš/ 2
saat nm "hour; watch, clock" /koku e saato/ "What time is it?"; /četiri saato/ "4 o'clock"; /dojde saato za span'e/ "It's time for bed"
sabajle 1 nn "morning"
sabajle 2 adv "early in the morning" /dojde s./ "He came early this morning"
sábota nf "Saturday"
sade pf.tr B6 sadva ipf A sadi aor "plant" /né_sadat sea čenka/ "They don't plant sweetcorn these days" cf. /dərvo/
sae part "only; all the time, forever" /na prikata s. ženi se berat/ "Only women come to inspect the dowry"; /s. pišiš/ "You never stop writing"
saka ipf.tr A "want; like; love" /s. siła/ "You need (One needs) a lot of strength"; /se zasaka so edna čupa/ "He fell in love with some girl" cf. /ličen/
sakałdisa pf.tr A sakałdisva ipf A sakałdisa aor "upset" /se sakałdisa nogu/, /beše nogu sakałdisana/ "She was very upset"
sakat adj "crippled"
sało nn "lard"
samo part "only"
sapun nm sapunče dim "soap"
sarma nf "stuffed cabbage roll"
se 1 prn.rfl "oneself"

se 2 prn "everything" [also attr.:] /so_sé rešme/ "with the whole necklace and all"; /so_sé čupin'ata/ "with those girls and all"
se 3 adv "nothing but, all the time"
sea adv cf. /sega/
sebe (si) prn "oneself" /da se zdumaš sama sebe/,/dumaj (misli) sama sebe/ "Think for yourself [f.]"; /beri gajle za sebe si/ "Think of yourself"
seče ipf.tr B2, B6 seče, seči aor "cut (up, off); abolish" /so matikata k'e ti a seča głaata/ "I'll cut off your head with the hoe"; /mu o sečiš mlekoto/ "You ween him" cf. /natoče/
sečko nn "January & February"
sede ipf.itr B6 sedi aor "sit; stay; live" /sedime tamo 3 meseci/ "We stayed there for 3 months" cf. /zdravje/
sedeło nn "nest"
sedne pf.itr B1 sednuva ipf.A sedna aor "sit down" /da stoiš sednat/ "Stay seated!"
see ipf.tr B1 po-, ot-, isee pf -sea aor "sow, plant" /poseaf małce kromit/ "I planted some onions"; /o iseaf ceło pole/ "I sowed a whole field" cf. /čenica/
sefte adv "first" /s. vu životta/ "for the first time in (my) life"; /ot s./ "at first" cf. /ótsefte/
sega, sea adv "now"
seir nm "sight, view" /ná_s./ "for the view, to have a look"
sékade adv "everywhere"
sełck'i adj "village-; rustic"
seło nn "village"
seme nn "seed"
sémička nf "seed" /sémički/ "sunflower seeds" (a popular snack) cf. /semka/
semka nf "seed"
senduk nm "trunk, chest"
senka nf "shade, shadow" /pót_s./ "in the shade"
seno nn "hay"
sere ipf(rfl) B "shit" /k'e oda da (se) sera/ "I'll go and have a shit"; /muite i serat dolapite/ "The flies shit on the cupboards"
sert adj "serious, stern, severe" /serta žena/ "serious (stern) woman"; /s. tutun/ "astringent tobacco"
sestra nf "sister"
setne, pósetne adv "later" (also as part. "well then")
sever nm "north wind"
sfərše pf.tr&itr B6 cf. /svərše/

siderosva ipf.tr & itr A siderosa pf "iron"
sižim nm "cord, string"
sif siva adj "grey; blue" /sivi oči/ "blue eyes"; /siva krava/ "blue cow"
sikter intj "get out!" /s. ot tua/ "Get out of here!"
silen siłna adj "strong"
siła nf "strength" /golema s. ima čoeko/ "He is very strong"; /nogu s. ode/ "He drives very fast"; /mu davaš so s./ "You force it on him"
sin 1 nm "son"
sin 2 sina, sin'a adj "blue, violet, purple" /sina (sin'a) faneła/ "blue jumper" cf. /argavan/
sinžir nm "chain; necklace"
sink'i part "like, as if, I suppose" /s. marmelada/ "like marmelade"; /s. (da su) vu kafkas/ "as if (I were) in the Caucasus"; /s. k'e dojde/ "I suppose he's coming" cf. /grop/
sinor nm "border; area" /na čuži s./ "abroad" cf. /čužina/
sirak nm & f "orphan"
siratka nf "whey"
siren'e nn sirence dim "cheese"
sirišče nn "rennet"
siroma nm siromasi pl siromaška nf "poor person; (attr.) poor" /s. čoek/ "poor man"
siromaščija nf "poverty"
siromašen -šna adj cf. /siromašk'i/ /s. čoek/, /siromašna žena/
siromašk'i adj "poor" /siromaška famil'a/ "poor (needy) family"
sistro nn "bread spatula"
site ipf.tr B6 nasite pf nasiti "satiate, rfl. eat one's fill"
sito nn "sieve, collander"
sjagna adj.f "pregnant [of sheep, goats]"
skała nf "ladder"
skap adj "expensive"
skape pf.itr B1 skapva ipf A "soak; drown; rot" /k'e s. kromido/ "The onions will get too much water"; /jabəkoto e skapano/ "The apple has rotted"; /skapana edna/ (derog., said of woman)
skapne pf.itr B1 "rot" /da skapniš/ (curse) cf. /skape/
skapne pf.itr B1 cf. /skape/
skoba nf "horseshoe"
skoka ipf.itr A skokne pf B1 "hop, jump, dance"
skol'e nn "school"

skopec nm skopci pl "hook & eye" /mašk'i s./, /ženskʼi s./
skrišno adv "secretively, furtively" cf. /krie/
skut nm "lap" /na skuto/, /vu skuto/ "in his (her) lap"
skəržaf -a(v)a adj "miserly, mean" /skəržao momče/ "mean young man"
skʼele nn "port"
sleče ipf.tr B2 slekva ipf A slekuf sleče "take off [clothes]"
slep adj "blind" /sleb da te vida/ (curse)
sleze pf.itr B2 slegva ipf A sleze aor "get (come) down; get off"
sliva nf "plum"
słama nf "straw" cf. /kum/
słana nf "hoar-frost"
słanina nf słaninka var "bacon, flap"
słanutok nm.nc "chickpeas"
słap słaba adj "weak; thin" /s. čoek/ "thin, weak man"; /slaba raka/ "thin hand, weak arm"; /slaba basma/ "thin cloth"; /slabo čae/ "weak tea" cf. /jak/; /debeł/
słatok słatka adj "good [of food], tasty"
słobodija nf "freedom"
słuša ipf.tr & itr A słušne pf B1 "hear, listen"
służe ipf.itr B6 "serve"
smee ipf.rfl B1 rasmee pf rasmea aor "smile"
smisle pf.tr B6 smisli aor "imagine"
smokva nf "fig"
smərde ipf.itr B "stink, smell"
smərdec nm "stinker" /s. eden/ (derog.)
snaa nf "daughter-in-law" (also brother's wife; cf. /zet/, /zołva/); /s. od brat/, /s. za brat/ "sister-in-law"
snek snego nm "snow" /vərne s./, /fərla s./, /pada s./ "It's snowing"; /ne fatva nogu s. ma/ "The snow doesn't stay (here)", "We don't have much snow here"
snop nm snop-oi, -je pl "sheaf"
snošči adv "last night (evening)"
so prp "with" /so raka prašeme/ "We hoe by hand"; /eden so dva saato/ "between 1 and 2 o'clock" cf. /zdravje/
soba nf "stove"
sobere pf.tr B1 soberva ipf sobra aor "collect" /se s./ "shrink" cf. /pepeł/
sofra nf "low round table"
soj nm "clan, extended family" /taka mu e sojo/ "That's what they are like"
sol nf solca, solce dim "salt"

sole ipf.tr B6 nasole pf nasoli aor "salt" /soleno meso/ "salt meat"
solen adj "salty" /ne znaat dali e luto ili soleno/ "They don't know right from wrong"; /ne razberva ni luto ni soleno/ "He can't tell right from wrong"
soliło nn "brine"
solina nf "pipe"
son nm "sleep; dream" /me fati s./ "I fell asleep"; /vu sono/ "while sleeping; in a dream" cf. /nasone/
sonva ipf.itr A "dream"
sopka nf "hobble"
sopne pf.tr B1 sop-inva,-nuva ipf A "hobble; [also rfl.] stumble" /k'e sopne, k'e padne/ "He stumbles and falls"
sor nm "axe for trimming trees"
spanak nm "spinach"
span'e nn "sleep" /da o skorniš da stane od span'eto/ "Wake him up" cf. /spije/
spasoven spasovna adj "in order" /mažot mu ne e s./ "Her husband is not in order"
spaze pf.tr B spazva ipf A "take care of" /spazi se/, /da se spazvaš/ "Take care"; /spazi go/ "Take care of it" cf. /paze/
spevan'e nn "memorial service, requiem"
spije ipf.itr B5 spa aor "sleep" /span'e/ nom.act; /se uspe/ pf. "sleep in" cf. /prespe/
spital'e nn "hospital"
społajti intj "thanks" /s. šo dojde/ "Thank you for coming"; /społajvi/ (when addressing more than one person); /społajmu na gospo/ "Thank goodness!"
spomen nm "memory; memorial service" /za s./ "to remind you", "as a souvenir"
sporet <spored> prp "according to; compared with" /spored verata/ "according to religion" cf. /rana/
sprasna adj.f "pregnant [of sow]" /s. biška/ "pregnant sow" cf. /prase/
spərsne pf.itr B1 "nick off, disappear"
stafida nf.nc "raisins"
stane 1 ipf.itr B1 stanva pf A "get up"
stane 2 pf.itr B1 stanva ipf A "happen"
staor nm staorče dim "rat"
stap nm "stick"
stapało nn "foot, sole"
stapica nf "mouse-trap"
stapne pf.tr B1 stapnuva ipf A "tread on" cf. /gaze/

star adj "old [of people & animals]" /po staro/, /na staroto/ "according to the old calendar" cf. /fetok/
starck'i adj "old people's, of old" /starck'i muabeti/ "old-fashioned expressions"
staros starosta nf "old age" cf. /gərdos/
steżer nm "post" (in the middle of threshing floor)
stega ipf.tr A istegne pf B1 "tighten"
stełna adj.f "pregnant [of cow]" /s. krava/ "pregnant cow" cf. /tele/
stemne pf.rfl B1, B6 stemnuva ipf A stemna, stemni aor "get dark" /se stemna nogu bərgu vaanoš/ "It got dark very early last night"
stiga ipf.itr A "suffice" /s./ [ips.] "Enough!"
stigne pf.itr B1 stignuva ipf A stigna "arrive"
stis nm "wall"
stiše ipf.tr B1; B6 istiše pf stisa; istiši "build" cf. /plitar/ stišva cf. /kuk'a/
stoe ipf.itr B "stand; stay; seem" /ne stoa gladna/ "I don't go hungry"; /taka mu stoe ná_neo/ "So it seems to him" cf. /prostu/; /sedne/
stok stogo nm "hay-stack"
stoł nm stołče dim "chair"
stomak nm "stomach"
stomna nf "pitcher, earthenware jug"
stomnarnik nm "sink" /stomnarniko se zakəka/ "The sink is blocked"
stopan nm "the boss, husband"
store pf.tr B6 stori aor "do, make;(rfl) get; happen" /sea mi se stori arno/ "(My child) is well again now"; /ama vərne, k'e se storat/ "If it rains, they will ripen" cf. /airlija/
stra nm "fear" /go e s./, /mu e s./ "He is scared"; /odoščo da mi e s./ "What should I be afraid of?" cf. 4.1, 4.3
stram nm "shame" /mi e s./ "I'm ashamed"; /mi e s. da se sleča taka/ "I'm too shy to get undressed like that" cf. 4.1, 4.3
strame ipf.rfl B6 ustrame pf ustrami aor "be ashamed; be shy" /ne se strami/ "Don't be shy!"; /se ustrami čoeko i go plunaf vu očite/ "He felt ashamed and I spat in his face"
stramota nf "shame" /s./ "Shame on you!"
strašen -šna adj "terrifying; terrible" /ama se gładni, strašni se/ "(Wolves) are dangerous if they are hungry"
strašlif -liva adj "timid"

strea nf "eaves" /koa k'e se rode čupe, i streite k'e płačat/ "When a girl is born, even the eaves weep" [old saying]
strebren adj "silver" cf. /pərsten/
strebro nn "silver" /živo s./ "quicksilver"
streda nf "middle; Wednesday" /na s./ "in the middle"; /vu s./ "on Wednesday"
strede 1 adv "in the middle" /s. da sedniš/ "Sit in the middle"
strede 2 prp "in the middle" /s. pato/ "in the middle of the road"; /s. odaata/ "in the middle of the room" cf. /nastrede/
streden stredna adj "medium" /s. čoek/ "man of average stature"; /stredno kafe/ "medium-sweet coffee"
strétseło nn "marketplace"
striko nm "uncle [father's brother]" cf. /čičo/
strina nf "wife of /striko/" (also any woman one generation older) cf. /baba/
striže pf.tr B1 pot-,ot-striže pf -striga aor "cut [hair]" /se ostrigaf/ "I had my hair cut"
stroj nm "match [for marriage]"
strojničiłuk nm "matchmaking"
strojnik nm "matchmaker"
strugało nn "grater; plane"
struk strugo nm "plane"
struže ipf.tr B1, B6 istruže pf istruga aor "grate; plane" /nogu jabəka istrugaf/ "I grated a lot of apple"; aor var. /istruži/
stude ipf.itr B3 pristude pf pristude aor "be cold" /mi s./ [ips.]"I'm cold"; /vremeto pristude/ "The weather has turned cold"
studen adj studna var.f "cold" /studno/ "It's cold"
stut nm&f studo, stutta def studoi pl "cold, cold weather" /fati s./ "He caught cold"; /debeł s./ "severe cold"
stərnišče nn "chaff"
su prp cf. /so/
sualka nf "shuttle" [part of loom]
suče ipf.tr B1 isuče pf isuka aor "roll out [pastry]" /s. zełnik/ "roll out pastry for a pie"; /na pərf mart praeme (sučeme) martinki/ "On the 1st March we make /martinki/" cf. /presuče/
sude ipf.tr B "sue; charge" /k'e te sudat ako te fatat (ako praiš taka)/ "They'll charge you (Someone will sue you) if they catch you (if you go on like that)" cf. /sut/
suf sua adj "dry" cf. /mek/

sukało nn "rolling-pin" cf. /suče/
surat nm "face" /ne sakam da mu o pula surato/ "I don't want even to see his face" cf. /lice/, /usłuk/
surede pf.tr B 6 suredva ipf "keep tidy, tidy up" cf. /narede/
suša nf "drought, dry period"
suše ipf.tr isuše pf isuši aor "dry" /se suše/ "dry" [itr.] cf. /šuše/
sut sudo nm "court [of law]" cf. /sude/
svadba nf "wedding"
svat nm svak'a f svatu; svak'e voc "in-law" (bridegroom's relatives in relation to bride's relatives and vice versa)
svekło nn "mangold, silverbeet"
svekor nm "father-in-law" (husband's father)
svekərva nf "mother-in-law" (husband's mother) cf. /baba/
sveska nf "sister-in-law" (wife's sister) cf. /zołva/
svešča nf "candle"
svet 1 nm "world" cf. /šaren/
svet 2, sveti adj "holy, Saint" /s. nikoła/ "St. Nicholas"
svete ipf.itr B svetne pf B1 svetna aor "shine"
svetec nm "saint"
svetka ipf.itr A svetne pf Bi svetna aor "flash [lightning]" /man'a svetna/ "There was a flash of lightning"
svirağija nm "musician"
svire ipf.tr&itr B svirne pf.B1 "play [music], ring" cf. /buče/
svirka nf "musical instrument"
svərdel nm "drill"
svərše pf.tr&itr B6 svəršva ipf svərši aor "finish" /svəršen/ "finished, past, over"; /nema svəršvan'e/ "There is no end to it"
səпce nn "sun" cf. /večer/ 1
sérbija nf "Serbia, Yugoslavia"
sərbin nm sərbi pl sərbinka f "Serb"
sərce nn "heart" cf. /kərše/
sərča nf "glass; glass splitter" /beła s./ "opaque glass"
sərčen adj "glass" (attrib.) /sərčena kanata/ "glass jug"
sərfí adj.ind "genuine" /s. mak'edonec/ "a real Macedonian" cf. /aslí/
sərka ipf.itr A "dunk (bread in food)"
sərp nm "sickle"
sərpski adj "Serbian"
sət prn "all"

səti prn.pl "everyone, all"
səza nf səze dim "tear"
šajak nm "coarse woollen cloth"
šajka nf "nail"
šamiče nn "handkerchief"
šamija nf "scarf"
šaren adj "piebald; black & white" /š. vol/ "piebald ox"; /š. svet/ "It takes all sorts to make a world"
šator nm "umbrella; tent"
ščave nn cf. /zel'e/
ščica nf ščiče dim "board"
ščipa ipf.tr A ščipne pf B1 "pinch"
šej nm "thing" cf. /neščo/
šek'er nm šek'ero def "sugar"
šepka ipf.tr&itr A cf. /šepte/
šepte ipf.tr&itr B1 šepne pf šepna aor "whisper"
šeta ipf.tr & itr A ra-, pro-šeta pf našeta sat "stroll; travel; take out" /k'e odeme da se rašetame/ "We're going for a stroll"; /šetame/ "We are travelling", "We're having a good time"; /o š. deteto/ "She's walking him" cf. /rašetka/
šetka ipf A dim cf. /šeta/
šije ipf.tr&itr B4 so-, zašije pf so-, zaši aor "sew, sew up"
šip nm "wild rose"
šipka nf "rose hip"
šire ipf.tr B6 rašire pf raširva ipf "spread out, hang up" /š. zemja (čenka) da se suše/ "spread earth (maize) out to dry"; /š. plački na telo/ "hang clothes out on the line"
širok adj "wide; large [of clothing]" cf. /tesen/
šišarka nf.nc "green beans"
šiše nn "bottle; lamp-chimney"
šk'emba nf "stomach"
šlapni intj "yum yum" (onomat. intj. for eating)
šlupka nf "shell; peel"
šłapeec nm šlapei pl "wave"
šmərk nm "hose [for watering]"
šo 1 prn "(int) what; why; (rel) which" /šópraiš šópraete/ "Good morning" (etc.) (greeting on meeting); /šó_znam/ "I've no idea"
šo 2 adv "how" /š. ubao/ "How beautiful!"
šo 3 conj "that, because" /arno šo dojde/ "It's good that you came", "You were right to come"
šom conj "since [causal]" /š. ne e pot płano, ne k'e ti

daat/ "If it's not according to the plan, they won't give you (their approval)"
špirt nm "match"
štərk nm "stork" /štərko žive na visoko dərvo/ "Storks live in tall trees"
šuk'ur part "fortunately, thank goodness" /š. a storiv vaa rabota/ "Thank goodness I did that"; /š. šo ne piiš/ "Thank you for not smoking", "Thank goodness you don't smoke"
šura nm "brother-in-law" (wife's brother)
šurna nf "wife of /šura/"
šuše ipf.tr B6 išuše pf išuši aor "dry" /plačk'ite se šušat na telo/ "Clothes dry on the line"; /plačk'ite se išušija na telo/ "The clothes dried on the line"
šut adj "hummel, hornless, muley" /šuta krava/ "hornless cow"
tabijet nm "custom; nature" /takof mu e tabijeto/ "That's his nature"
tae ipf.rfl B "rest, be quiet"
taka adv "thus" /taka vaka/ "such and such, this and that"; [predicatively:] /t. mu e sojo/ "That's what they're like"
takof takva prn "such" /takof čoek/; /takof je toj/
takvova ipf A "do such and such" (expletive verb) /uguł da pišiš, uguł da takvovaš/ "You just write and write"; /nikoj pat nema takvovano/ "There's never been anything like it"
talas nm.nc "sawdust"
tamak'er nm tamak'arka nf "miser; envious person" [also attr.]
tamám adv "just right" /t. za ručoko dojdote/ "You came just in time for lunch"
tamo adv "there"
tanteła nf "lace"
tapan nm "drum"
tarana nf "semolina"
tate nm "dad" cf. /tatko/
tatko nm "father" (also husband's father)
tava nf "pan; food (metaphor.)" cf. /ava/
tavan nm "ceiling"
teče ipf.itr B2 is-, preteče pf -tekuf, -teče "flow" /rekata isteče (preteče)/ "The river overflowed, burst its banks"
tekne pf.ips B1 teknuva ipf tekna aor "occur to" /koa k'e mu t./ "Whenever they feel like it"; /mu tekna [aor.]/ "It occurred to him"; /ne mi teknuva/ "I can't remember"
tel nm "wire; washing-line" cf. /šire/

tele 1 nn telence dim "calf"
tele 2 ipf.rfl B6 otele pf oteli aor "calve" /se oteli dve/ "(The cow) had twins"
telešk'i adj "calf's" /teleško meso/ "veal"
tembeł adj.ind "lazy"
temerút adj "quiet, reticent" ant. /łafenʒija/
temjan nm "incense"
témnica nf "darkness" /po t./ "in the dark"
tenʒere nn "pot" /manʒa so patati vu t./ "potato-stew (in a pot)"
tenek'e nn "tin; rubbish-bin; drum"
tepa ipf.tr A is-, s-tepa pf is-, s-tepa aor "strike; beat; kill" /se tepaš/ (= /se mačiš/) "It's a lot of work"; /se istepaja/ "They all got killed" cf. /otepa/
tepalka nf "fly-swat"
tepsija, tepcija nf "baking-pan"
tera ipf.tr A "drive" /teraj si a rabotata/ "Get on with own work!"; /nogu vreme t./ "It takes a long time"; /se t. gərk/ "He pretends to be a Greek" cf. /pravina/
terʒija nm terʒika nf "tailor"
tesen tesna adj "narrow" /pato e t. (širok)/ "The path is narrow (wide)"
tesła nf "adze"
testo nn "dough"
teta nf "aunt" (father's or mother's sister)
tetin nm "uncle" (husband of /teta/)
tetrak nm tetraʒi pl "exercise-book, notebook"
tezg'ere nn "pallet"
težava nf "weight"
teže ipf.itr B "be heavy, weigh"
težok teška adj "heavy"
tikva nf "pumpkin; head; blockhead"
tikve nn "zucchino"
tił nm "back (nape) of neck"
tintak intj "out like a light" /legni si - t./ "You lie down and you're out like a light"
tkae ipf.tr&itr B4 sotkae pf sotka aor "weave" /tkaen/ "woven"
toare, tovare pf.tr B6 to(v)arva ipf A "load"
tockaf prn tóckaa fsg tóckao nsg "so small"
tock'i adv "that much"
toče ipf.tr B6 natoče pf natoči aor "sharpen [e.g. knife]" /nožo ne mi seče, treba da o natoča/ "My knife won't cut, I'll have to sharpen it" Cf. /ostre/; /brič/

togaj adv "then"
toj taa, taja toa prp "he" [3rd sg prn] /toa voa/ "this and that"
tokaf tókaa tókao prn tókai pl "that big" /t. čoek/ "such a big man"
tokmu adv "just, exactly; in order" [predicatively:] /čupata ne e t./ "The girl is not all there" cf. /broe/
toku adv "that much, so much"
tonok tonka adj "thin" /t. sižim/,/tonka vərfca/ "thin string"; /tonka plačka za letoto - debeła za zimata/ "thin clothes for the summer - thick ones for the winter"
top nm topje pl "canon" /vu top da i kladiš i na mesečinata da i buniš/ "(We ought to) put them into a canon and shoot them onto the moon"
tope 1 ipf.rfl B6 stope pf stopi aor "melt; fade (beauty)"
tope 2 ipf.rfl B6 natope pf natopi aor "get wet"
tople ipf.tr B6 stople pf stopli aor "warm"
toplina nf "warmth"
topoł topła adj "warm" /t. veter/ "warm wind"
topoła nf "poplar"
tornik nm "Tuesday"
trae ipf.itr B4, B6 istrae pf traja, istrai aor "last, take (time); suffer" /istrai/ "He lived through it"; /ne traat na studnoto/ "They can't take the cold"
trap nm trapje pl "row (of plants)" cf. /rało/
trap trup intj (onomat. for sound of steps)
treba ipf.itr A "be necessary; must, have to" /t. [ips.] da dojde/ "He must come (has to come)"; /ne ni t./ "We don't need it"
trebe ipf.tr B6 istrebe pf istrebi aor "clean, sort" /t. lešča (bop)/ "sort the lentils (beans)" cf. /istrebe/
trebje plt "lawn" /trebjeto se isušija/ "The lawn dried out"
tree ipf.tr B1 is-, so-tree pf is-, so-trea aor "rub; rub off"
trem nm "entrance; passage, corridor"
tren nm "train"
trese ipf.tr B6 istrese pf (i)stresi aor "shake; rinse [clothes]" /se t./, /go t./ "He is shaking"; /go stresi/ [aor.] "He came down with fever"
treska nf "fever" /ima t./ "He has a fever (temperature)"
trešnica nf "slap" /mi vərza edna t./ "He slapped my face"
treva nf trevje pl "grass", pl "grasses, herbs"
trici plt "bran"

troa adv trofče dim "a little" /po t. po t./ "little by little, a little at a time" cf. /małce/
trudna adj.f "pregnant" cf /podbere/ 2
tua adv cf. /tuka/
tuka adv "here" /eła tuka/ "come here" cf. /vak'i/
tukašen tukašna adj "from here" /tukašnite/ "the local people"
tuła nf "brick"
túrcija nf "Turkey"
turck'i adj "Turkish" /turcko kafe/ "Turkish coffee"
turčin nm turci pl turčinka f "Turk"
ture pf.tr B6 turva ipf A (po)turi aor "pour" /turva sol vu manʒata/"She puts salt in the stew"; /poturif plaka za kuk'a/ "We poured a [cement] block for the house"; /turva/ [ips]"It's pouring" cf. /isture/
turi peči nn "thin dry bread"
turka ipf.tr A turne pf B1 "push" /turni a/ "Push [the door]!"; /se turkaa/ "They jostle one another"
turlija nf "sort" /edna t./ "one sort"; /nogu turlii narot/ "all sorts of people"
turłu nn "stew"
turšija nf "pickled mixed vegetables" /o napraif t./ "I made mincemeat of him"
tutun nm "tobacco" cf. /pije/
təče ipf.tr B6 is-, s-təče pf (is-, s-)təči aor "grind [beans, capsicum etc.] /təčen bop/ "ground beans" [as spread]
tərča ipf.itr A is-, potərča pf is-, potərča "run" /toj si potərča/[aor.] "He ran away"
tərga 1 ipf.tr A istərga pf istərga aor "draw, pull, stretch" /t. maznik/ "stretch the *maznik*"; /nogu maka istərgaa/ "They had a hard life"; /tərga [sc. /maka/] "He has a hard time of it" cf. /gərck'i/
tərga 2 ipf.itr A tərgne pf "set off"
tərkalezen -zna adj "round" /tərkalezno oro/ "round dance"
tərkała ipf.rfl A "roll about" /térkała vale maško pərle/ (nursery rhyme)
tərkało nn "wheel"
tərło nn "sheep-fold"
tərn nm tərn'e pl tərnče dim "thistle"
tərpe ipf.tr & itr B "put up (with); be patient"
tərska nf.nc "cane"
u prp cf. /vu/

ubaf ubaa ubao ubai adj "beautiful, fine, good" /ubao mi e/"I like it";/za zet (nevesta, svat,..) po ubao/ "You'll look all the better as a bridegroom (bride, bride's father...) [in those clothes]"
ubetka nf "ear-ring"
uče 1 ipf.tr&itr B6 nauče pf nauči aor "teach; (rfl) learn" /se izuči/ "He (She) finished his (her) studies (training)"; /učen/ 1 "learned"
uče 2 ipf.rfl B6 nauče pf nauči aor "become accustomed" /učen/ 2 "accustomed"
udae pf.rfl B6 udava ipf A udai aor "drown"
údołu adv "down, downwards, down there"
udre pf.tr & itr B6 udirva ipf A udri aor "hit" /kambanata udri/ "The bell tolled"; /udri vrapce/ "He hit (= shot) a bird" cf. /tepa/
udvae part "hardly; in the nick of time"
úgore adv "up, upwards"
ugree pf.itr B1 ugreva ipf A ugrea aor "rise" [of the sun]
ugułł part "only; completely" /odi vu g'ermanija u. čae/ "If you go to Germany, all you get is tea" cf. /takvova/
ujdisva ipf.itr A ujdisa pf ujdisa aor "fit, suit" /fustano mi u./ "The dress fits me"; /se ujdisvame/ "We get on well"
ujgun adj.ind "suitable, right" /ne mi e u./ "It's not my size"
ulišče nn "beehive"
uluk nm "guttering, spouting"
ułaf ułaa adj "mad, crazy" /dobrite berea, ulaite jadea/ "They ate where they had not sown"
um nm "mind, sense, memory" /nema um/ "He has no sense"; /mi dojde na umo/ "I just realized"; "I just remembered"
umen umna adj "intelligent"
umer nm "dying" /u. nema/ "It keeps forever"
umirvačka nf "death, dying" /od žeško u./ "crippling heat"
umre pf.itr B3 umirva ipf umre aor "die" /umren/ "dead"
urda nf "curd, cottage cheese"
urne pf.tr B1 urinva ipf A urna aor "take down, pull down" /urni o kepengo/ "Pull down (= close) the shutter"; /go urnaf (kutnaf) starjo stis/ "I pulled down (= demolished) the old wall"
urof nm "vetch"
urup nm urupče dim "flower-pot; chamber-pot"

usłuk nm "likeness, appearance" /po u. se poznavaa/ "One can recognize them (by the way they look)"
uspe pf.rfl B1 uspuva ipf uspa aor "sleep in" cf. /zaspe/
ušče adv "still, yet, more"
uščip nm "moon on the wane" /na u./ "on the wane"
uše nn uši pl "ear"
utre adv "tomorrow" /utre denta/ "the next day"
utro nn "morning"
uzda nf "bridle"
uzdrae pf.itr B3, B6 uzdrava ipf A uzdrae, uzdrai aor "recover (from illness)"
uzdree pf.itr B1 uzdreva ipf A uzdrea aor "ripen" /uzdrea grozjeto/ "The grapes are ripe" cf. /zdreł/
užina 1 nf "midday dinner"
užina 2 pf &ipf.itr A "take midday dinner"
v prp cf. /vu/
vaanoš adv "last night" cf. /noš/ 2
vade 1 ipf.tr B2, B6 izvade pf izvade,-vadi aor "take out; produce" /nogu pari vadva/ "He earns a lot"; /i. kadro/ "take a picture, photo"; /čelite vadat met/ "Bees make honey" cf. /bostan/
vade 2 ipf.tr "water" /a vada gradinata/ "I water the garden"
vadva ipf.tr A cf. /vade/ 1
vaka adv "like.this, thus" /zborva v./ "He speaks our dialect"
vak'i adv "over here; this side" /od voden v./ "this side of Voden"; /eła v./ "Come this way"; /za v./ "on the return trip" cf. /tuka/
vale ipf.tr & itr B "turn, stoke (fire)" /sedi tamo da o vališ ogno pod koteło/ "Sit there and stoke the fire (...)"; /so słama valeme pot koteło/ "We stoked up (the fire) with straw"
vang'ele nn "gospel" /pód_v. ode/ "kneel under the bible while the priest reads the lesson"
vapsa ipf.tr A "colour" /vapsat jajca za veligden/ "People paint eggs for Easter"
vare ipf.tr&itr B6 povare, svare pf povari, svari aor "boil" /v. (svare) kafe/ "make coffee"; /vareni patati/ "boiled potatoes" cf. /katran/
varosa pf.tr A varosva ipf varosa aor "paint"
večer 1 nf "evening" /na večerta sənceto zajduva/ "The sun sets in the evening"

večer 2 adv "this evening" cf. /sabajle/
večera 1 nf "evening meal, supper"
večera 2 pf&ipf.itr A večerva ipf "take supper"
vede ipf.rfl B2 navede pf "bend over"
vedrina nf "clear weather"
vedro 1 nn "bucket [for milk]"
vedro 2 adv "clear" [of weather]
vek nm "century; a lifetime" /ceł vek/ "a century; all one's life"
vekot adv "a great deal" /v. vreme/ "a great deal of time"; /v. seła/ "many villages"; /v. pisame/ "We've been writing for ages"
vele ipf.tr B reče pf B2 rekuf reče aor "say" /veliš/ [as intj. expressing doubt] "Do you think so? You don't say!"; /od velen'e do praen'e ima nogu/ "Easier said than done" cf. /kaže/
velence nn "blanket; flokati rug"
veli četvərtok nm "Maundy Thursday"
veli petok nm "Good Friday"
velica nf "gum; jaw; jawbone" /čuži velici/ "false teeth"
velička nf "fork [kitchen utensil]"
véligden, veligden nm "Easter, Easter Sunday"
venča ipf&pf.tr A venča aor "marry" /se venčaa/ "They got married"; /venčan je sin ti/ "Is your son married yet?"; /toj ne venča/ "He was (is) our bestman (/nunko/)"
venčanija plt "wedding" cf. /svadba/
venčan'e nn "wedding" (nom. act. from /venča/) cf. /svadba/
vera nf "belief, faith"
veren verna adj "true, faithful"
verva ipf A "believe"
veselen veselna adj "happy, merry"
veter nm "wind; air" cf. /ava/
vezden adv "all the time, constantly"
veže ipf.tr&itr B1 naveže pf naveza aor "embroider" /a naveza [aor.] košulata/ "She embroidered the shirt"; /navezano kadro/ "tapestry"
vide pf.tr&itr B3 vidva ipf A vide aor "see" cf. /maka/
videło nn "light"
vika ipf.tr&itr A vikne pf B1 izvika pf A "shout; call; invite" /nogu v./ "He's very loud-mouthed"; /se v. pandil/ "His name is Pandil" cf. /barem/
vilica nf cf. /velica/

vilička nf cf. /velička/
viła nf "pitchfork"
vinǯal nm cf. /finǯal/
vino nn "wine"
vir nm virče dim "pond" /virče/ "puddle"
visok adj "tall; high" /v. čoek/ "tall man"
vistina, vístina intj "really?!"
vjasa ipf.itr A "hurry"
vlečka ipf.tr A "drag"
vleze pf.itr B2 vlegva ipf A vleguf vleze aor "enter" cf. /izleze/
vłaf vłao nm vłasi pl vłainka nf "Vlach"
vłakno nn "strand of hair"
voda nf vodička dim "water" /ne i fati vodata/ "They didn't hit it off together", "They didn't get on together"
vode ipf.rfl B "be in heat" /kravata se v./
voden vodna adj "water (attr.); moist, wet" cf. /pampur/
vodenica nf "mill"
vodeničar nm "miller"
vodest adj "watery"
vódici plt "Epiphany" (19th/6th January)
vojnik nm "soldier" /služe v./ "do one's military service" cf. /ask'er/
voku adv "that much"
voł nm "ox"
vołck'i adj "ox" [attr.] /vołcko meso/ "beef"
vołoar nm vołoarka nf "cowherd, drover"
voška nf "louse"
vraf vrao nm "grain for threshing"
vrapče nn vrapci, vrapčina pl "bird"
vrat nm "neck"
vrata nf "door"
vrate pf.tr B6 vərnuva ipf A vrati aor "return" /se v./ "return" [itr.] cf. /vərne/ 1
vredva ipf.itr A "be valuable"
vrek'a nf vrek'e dim vrešče dim "bag"
vreme nn "time" /na staroto v./ "in the old days"; /edno v./ "once upon a time" cf. /vərve/
vrešče nn cf. /vrek'e/
vreteno nn "thread"
vreva ipf.itr A "make a noise" cf. /buče/
vudve adv "double"
vujče nm cf. /vujko/

vujko nm "uncle" (mother's brother or mother's cousin)
vun'a nf "wife of /vujče/ or /vujko/"
vu, u, v prp "in, into" /ode f skol'e/ "go to school" cf. /zanese/
vək nm vəci pl "wolf"
vəłna nf "wool" cf. /predeno/
vərba nf "willow"
vərf vəro nm "top, summit"
vərfca nf "string; cord; lace"
vərne 1 pf.tr B1 vərnva ipf A vərna aor "return" /se v./ "return [itr.]"; /da ti e vərnato na čedo/ "The same (good luck) to your children" [greeting to married guest at wedding]
vərne 2 ipf.ips B1 zavərne pf zavərna aor "rain" /vaa godina troa ni zavərna/ "It didn't rain much this year"; /v. snek/ "It's snowing"
vərs nm & f vərsta def "generation; age"
vərsen vərsna adj "of the same age"
vərska ipf.itr A "whinge" /deteto v./ cf. /cika/
vərsnik nm vərsnika nf "person of same age, coeval"
vərše ipf.tr & itr B izvərše pf izvərši aor "thresh"
vərte ipf.tr B6 svərte pf svərti aor "turn" /zemjata se v./ "The earth revolves"; /inaku vərtat/ "They speak differently"; /samo (se) vərte/ "He's in a tizz"
vértisənce nn "sunflower"
vərtleška nf "fan"
vərve ipf.itr B "go, move, travel, get along" /v. vremeto/, /v. saato/ "Time passes"; /so edno rało čeli vərvea/ "They got by with one pair of shoes"
vərze pf.tr B1 vərza, vərzva ipf vərza aor "tie up" /so fərtomata k'e o vərziš "Tie it up with the cord"; /mi vərza edna trešnica/, /mi vərza edna/ "He slapped my face"
zabae ipf.rfl B6 zabava ipf A zabai aor "arrive late, run late" /da ne se zabaiš/ "Don't be long!"
zabaeno adv "late; slowly"
zaborae pf.tr&itr B6 zaborava ipf zaborai aor "forget"
zaek nm "rabbit, hare"
zafate pf.tr&itr B6 cf. /zavate/
zag'ine pf.itr B1 zag'inva ipf A zag'ina aor "get lost; perish" cf. /g'ine/
zairje nn.nc "food; vegetables; goods"
zajde pf.itr B2 zajduva ipf A zajde aor "set" [of the sun] cf. /večer/ 1

zajme pf.tr B3 zajmuva ipf zajme aor "lend" cf. /nazajm/
zajse pf.tr B2 zajse aor "take (someone somewhere)" cf. /dojse/, /zanese/
zakluče pf.tr B6 zaklučva ipf A zakluči aor "close" /zaklučen/ "locked"
zakopa pf.tr A zakopva ipf zakopa aor "bury" /zakopvan'e/ "burial"
zakəka pf.rfl zakəkva ipf zakəka aor "get blocked" /noso se zakəka/"My nose is blocked";/k'e se zakəkaš/ "You'll choke!"; /mi se zakəka/ "It got blocked up"/; /zakəkan/ "full; closed off; constipated" cf./stomnarnik/
zalube pf.tr B6 zalubva ipf zalubi "fall in love" /se z./ "fall in love"
zalute pf.rfl A zaluti aor "get angry" cf. /lute/ 1
załade pf.tr B6 załadva ipf A załadi aor "cool down"
załup nm "lid"
załupe pf.tr B6 załupva ipf A załupi aor "close" /załupi o kofčego/ "Close the chest!"
załək nm załəʒi pl "bite, mouthful" /eden z. da kəsna/ "Let me take just one bite"
zamərznat ppp "deep-frozen"
zanese pf.tr B2 zanesva pf A zanese aor "take" /go zanese lebo vu strina ti/ "Did you take the bread to your aunt's?"; /o zanesuv doma/ "I took him home"; cf. /nose/, /zajse/
zap zabo nm zabi pl zabe dim "tooth"
zapale pf.tr B6 zapałva ipf A zapali aor "light; turn on" cf. /pale/
zapee pf.in B1 zapea aor "begin to sing, read" cf. /pee/
zapre pf.tr B1 zapirva ipf zapra aor "lock; turn off; stop"
zaspe pf.itr B1 zaspuva ipf A zaspa aor "fall asleep" /zaspa bebeto/ "The baby has fallen asleep" cf. /uspe/
zastane pf.itr B1 zastanva ipf A zastana aor "stop"
zaščo adv.int "why" cf. /oti/
zat <zad> prp "behind; beyond"
zatvore pf.tr B6 zatvorva ipf A zatvori aor "close" cf. /otvore/
zaulae pf.itr B6 zaulai aor "go mad" cf. /ulaf/
zauška nf "tonsil"
zavate pf.tr&itr B6 zavatva ipf A zavati aor "begin" /zavatime da jademe/ "We began to eat" cf. /počne/
zbajate pf.rfl B6 zbajatva ipf A zbajati aor "go off, go bad [food]"
zborva ipf.tr&itr A "speak" cf. /vaka/

zbune pf.itr B1 zbunva ipf A "rise [of bread etc.]"
zdraf zdrava adj "healthy" /daj mu zdravo živo na ołga/ "Give Olga our regards"
zdravje nn "health" /sedete su z./ "Goodbye (said by guest on leaving)"; /odete su z./ (reply by host); /na z./ intj. when someone sneezes etc.; /na z. da ti e/ (toast) cf. /nose/
zdreł adj "ripe" cf. /uzdree/
zdərve pf.rfl B6 zdərvi aor "go hard, go stiff" /se zdərvi gəzo/ "My arse has fallen asleep", "My bum is stiff" cf. /dərvo/
ze intj "peekaboo"
zee ipf.itr B "open one's mouth, gape" cf. /prozeva/
zejka nf "yawn" /z. mi dojde/ "I couldn't help yawning" cf. /prozefka/
zelen adj "green"
zelka nf "(head of) cabbage"
zełnik nm "pie" [made with yeast pastry & filled with onions or pumpkin] cf. /suče/
zel'e nn "variety of dock or sorrel" [wild growing vegetable, same as /ščave/]
zeme pf.tr B3 zeva ipf A ze aor "take; marry" /z. tilefon, z. tilefono/ "ring, call"; /zemen na mesto čedo/ "adopted"
zemja nf "country; earth" /pód_zemja/ "underground" cf. /názemi/
zešče pf.tr B6 zešči aor "heat up" /sənceto a zešči vodata/ "The sun heated up the water"
zet nm "son-in-law; brother-in-law" (daughter's husband; sister's husband; also "bridegroom")
zeva ipf.tr A cf. /zeme/
zijan nm "trouble" cf. /bela/
zil'ar nm zil'arka f "envious person"
zil'e /imam z. na tebe (z. ti imam)/ "I'm envious of you"
zima nf "winter" /za ná_zima/ "for the winter"
zimosk'i adv "last winter" /z. koku snek imaše/ "How much snow there was last winter!"
złabok adj "deep"
złaten adj "golden" /z. pərsten/ "gold ring" cf. /bok/
złato nn "gold"
zmija nf "snake"
znae ipf B znam 1.sg. "know" /šó_znam/ "I've no idea"
zokum nm "oleander"
zołva nf "sister-in-law" (husband's sister) cf. /jatərva/

zort nm "trouble" /so golem z. o napraime/ "It was a lot of trouble"; /koku z. imam/ "I have a lot of problems" cf. /maka/
zoščo adv.int cf. /zaščo/
zovre pf.tr &itr B3 zovre aor "boil" /vodata zovre/ "The water has boiled"; /čae k'e vi zovra/ "I'll make tea for you" cf. /vare/
zərno nn "grain (c.)"
žaboriga nf cf. /žaburka/
žaburka nf "poppy"
žal adv "sorry" /ž. mu e/ "He is sorry" /ž. mu e za kučeto/ "She feels sorry for the dog"
žala ipf.tr & itr A "pity; mourn" /se ž./ "fret"; /za žalan'e/ "pitiful"
žalno adv "sadly"
žałoven -vna adj "sad; compassionate" /žałovna pesen/ "sad song"; /žałovna žena/ "compassionate woman"
žar nm & f žaro, žarta def "heat"
ždrebe nn "foal"
železnica nf "railway track"
želka nf "tortoise"
žena nf "woman; wife"
ženck'i adj "feminine, woman's"
žene pf&ipf.trB1,B6 ožene pf ženi,(o)žena aor "marry" [of man, tr.] /se ž./ "marry" [itr.]; /gotov za ženen'e/ "marriageable, ready to be married"
ženva ipf.rfl žene pf "marry [man or couple]"
žeščava nf "heat"
žešče pf.tr B6 cf. /zešče/
žetva nf "harvest"
žetvarck'i mesec nm "August"
žeže ipf.itr B "be hot" /ž./ [ips.] "It's fearfully hot"
žežok žeška adj "hot" /žešk'i dni/ "hot days" cf. /studen/
žif živa adj "live; raw" /živo meso/ "raw meat"; /da ni se živi/ "Long may they live!"; /da mu e ž./ (answer to news of a birth)
žilezen žilezna adj "iron" [attr.]
žilezo nn "iron (nc.; also implement)"
žiła nf žilička dim "vein, artery"
žito nn.nc "grain"
žive ipf.itr B6 požive pf živi, poživi aor "live" /9Ø godini živi/ "He lived to be 9Ø"; /mačna život iživif jaska/ "I have lived a hard life"

život nf "life"
žnije ipf.tr&itr B5 ožne pf ožna aor "reap, harvest" /pred iligden žnijeme/ "We harvest before Ilinden"
žəčka nf "yolk; gall-bladder"
žət adj "yellow"
ərg'osva ipf.itr A ərg'osa pf A "rust"
ərš nf "rye"
ərte ipf.itr B6 izərte pf izərti aor "sprout"
ərže ipf.itr B "neigh (of horses)"
əržen adj "rye" /ə. lep/ "rye bread"
ərženica nf "rye-stalk; straw from rye"

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